NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS IN BENGALI

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Introduction

When comparing the language of mediaeval Bengali epics with that of modern literature (both in sādhu-bhāshā and in calit-bhāshā), one difference strikes the eye. Whereas in older narratives, the main burden of the action was carried by finite verbal forms, in modern fiction a considerably larger number of non-finite verbal forms appear to replace the finite ones.The aim of the present paper is to describe these changes, on the ground of samples selected from the both periods of Bengali literature, to define their extent and to find out which sectors of the verbal system were affected by this replacement. If carried out on a sufficiently large number of texts, such an analysis may claim to reveal what might be called development tendencies of the Bengali verb, in the sense specified above.

In order to acquire a solid basis for such an analysis and comparison, ten literary texts were selected, starting from the 15th century Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, by Baru Caṇḍīdās, up to contemporary prose. From each text, portions of exactly the same length -20.000 words- were taken. All verbal forms included in these texts were listed. In one group, finite verbal forms (present,preterite,future and imperative) were recorded, in the second, non-finite ones, i.e. perfective participles,imperfective participles,conditional participles and verbal nouns[1]. As it is the latter group which we are here primarily interested in, all its respective parts have been kept and treated separately, in the chart shown on the next page.

	finite verbal forms	perfective participles	imperfective participles	conditional participles	verbal nouns and adjectives	non-finite verbal forms	total numbers of verbal forms
Śrīkṛṣṇa	3539	981	156	70	32	1239	4778
Manasā	3411	1504	136	18	58	1716	5127
Rāmāyaṇ	3658	904	171	80	49	1204	4862
Annadā	3133	1294	194	39	78	1605	4738
Ālāl	2794	1202	490	267	360	2319	5113
Bishabṛksha	3096	1110	401	151	169	1831	4927
Gorā	2635	1459	511	149	349	2468	5103
Śrīkānta	2762	1938	464	117	295	2814	5576
Putulnāc	2913	1410	369	183	438	2400	5313
Ghanādā	2326	1759	364	138	568	2829	5155
	30267	13561	3256	1212	2396	20425	50692

It is the language of modern prose fiction which is the main concern of the present paper. There is, however, no fiction in prose, in the pre-modern Bengali literature. Therefore I had to take epics in verse, as the counterpart of modern prose. The choice of the four selected texts - Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan by Caṇḍīdās[2], Manasābijay by Bipradās[3], Rāmāyaṇ by Kṛttibās[4], and Annadāmaṅgal by Bhāratcandra Rāy[5] - certainly needs no special reasoning. To bridge the gap between the classical period and the 20th century prose, Pyāricānd Mitra's Ālāler gharer Dulāl[6] (1858) and the novel Bishabṛkshe (1873) by Bankimcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy[7] were selected. Finally four books written in the present century were included - Gorā (1910) by Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur[8], Śrīkānta (1917) by Śaratcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy[9], Putulnācer itikathā (1936) by Mānik Bandyopādhyāy[10], and Ghanādār galpa (1956) by Premendra Mitra[11] (the latter for its highly colloquial style and admirably expressive language).

The results obtained by this analysis are presented in the chart given on the opposite page.

There are certain facts to be observed, in this connection:

1) The frequency of verbal forms is considerably high, in the majority of the analysed texts; verbal forms take up between 23,6% and 27,8% of all words. This verb frequency is probably higher than in other modern Indo-European languages.

2) The total of verbal forms remains approximately the same, throughout the four centuries' development of the Bengali

language. This applies, of course, only to the language of the narrative literature.

3) There are, however, considerable differences in the distribution of these forms in the two respective verbal groups, finite forms showing a constant tendency towards decrease, non-finite ones towards increase. In other words, final verbal forms tend to be replaced by non-finite ones. Whereas in Manasā-bijay and Annadāmaṅgal, the relation of finite and non-finite forms is about 2:1 and in Śrīkṛshṇa-kīrtan and Rāmāyan even 3:1, this relation gets nearly equated, in modern texts, in some, such as Śaratcandra's Śrīkānta and especially Premendra's Ghanādā, non-finites even prevailing in number.

Before proceeding to the next step, in our present analysis, it will be useful to survey briefly the whole verbal system of the Bengali language, from the point of view of its morphological categories, to get a clear picture of their mutual relations and dependences.

1. Verbal System of Bengali

Considered from the viewpoint of their expressive ability, the possibilities of simple finite verbal forms of Bengali are rather limited. Their variety is considerably high; leaving aside differences in personal endings and allomorphemic variants, a Bengali verb may take on ten different forms: simple present, simple future, simple preterite, habitual past, present imperative, future imperative, present perfect, preterite perfect, present progressive and preterite progressive.[12]. However large this number may appear,these finite forms taken out of their context, are incapable of expressing exactly delimited and mutually distinguished categories of tense, aspect and mood; only the category of voice does not present many problems, all finite forms being active. Owing to certain features of the development of the Bengali verb, the individual finite forms have lost much of their unambiguity in respect of tense, mood and aspect. Thus the simple present form may refer to present time as well as future and past; the historically well-defined category of the perfect preterite (e.g. *kariyāchilām, karechilām) does not, by itself, denote only an action perfective in aspect; forms like *karitām, kartām stand both for habitual past, simple past and conditional,etc. In other words, syntactic constructions are needed, instead of pure morphological means, wherever a more definite denotation of tense, aspect and mood is required, or where passive voice is to be expressed. These syntactic consructions invariably use non-finite verbal forms, as their basis; this is one

of the main reasons why so many non-finite verbal forms occur in modern Bengali.

Non-finite verbal forms may be divided into four categories:

1. verbal nouns or verbal adjectives /-ā, -āno/;
2. conditional participles /^{x}--ile, -le/, to express a condition;
3. imperfective participles /^{x}--ite, -te/, to denote an inconcluded action;
4. perfective participles /^{x}--iyā, -e/, to denote a concluded action.

The "basic meanings" givem above are, however, more or less theoretical, derived from the morphological indications of the respective suffixes. In syntactic constructions, which are the main field of application of these forms, these "meanings" undergo different changes.

1.1. Verbal forms ending im -ā (in simple verbs) or -āna, -āno (in the class of denominative and causative verbs), in their semantic affinities, do no more belong to proper verbal categories; they have joined either the group of nouns (as verbal nouns), or adjectives (acquiring the meaning of past passive participles). They must be included, however, in the category of verbal non-finites, because a) they can interchange with finite forms in expressing the same meaning (cf. āmār dvārā lekhā cithi - the letter written by me, or, ye cithi āmi likhechi tāi - the letter which I have written; āmār sekhāne thākbār phale - as a consequence of my

staying there, or āmi sekhāne thāklām bale - because I stayed there), b) they are capable of entering into syntactic constructions with other verbs, thus regaining, so to say, their purely verbal character. These constructions are practically the only means how to form the passive voice in modern, or at least colloquial Bengali. Auxiliary verbs used in these passive constructions are usually haoyā ("to become") and yāoyā ("to go"), the former denoting simple passive voice, the latter giving it the meaning of, or at least a hint at possibility, e.g. āoyājṭā śonā hala - the noise was heard; bhitar theke kichui śonā gela nā - it was not possible to hear anything from inside. Other verbs may be used in constructions of this type as well, such as parā ("to fall"), e.g. corṭā dharā paṛeche - the thief was caught; but their frequency is much lesser than that of haoyā and yāoyā.

Apart from that, there are various syntactic constructions, in which the Bengali verbal noun corresponds to the English infinitive, e.g. kājṭā karā sahaj nay - it is not easy to do that, etc.

Yet another type of syntactic constructions with present verbal nouns must be mentioned - that in which this non-finite form, with a locative ending of nouns /-te, -y/, expresses usually a verbal action, in the consequence of which the following sentence takes place, e.g. āmār bāri āsātei tāi ghaṭiyāche - it happened because I had come home. In the modern colloquial, these constructions are often replaced by constructions of two sentences with finite verbal forms, connected by ˣbaliyā, bale, because (lit. "having told").[13]

1.2. The conditional participle in x-ile, -le usually "replaces", in conditional clauses, finite conditional forms. Not seldom, however, it is used instead of a perfective participle in a syntactic construction of two verbal actions, where no condition, but a simple temporal sequence is involved, e.g. bara hale ekdin bujhbe - after you grow up, you will understand. Thus the interchange of this form with finites can take place in two ways.

1.3. The imperfective participle in x-ite, -te is much more frequent, in modern Bengali, than the two non-finite forms mentioned above; and the possibilities of its use are more varied, too.

1.3.1. First of all, it may appear at the end of a subordinated clause (Nebensatz), instead of a finite verbal form, to express an action temporarily preceding another described in the second part of the same sentence; but the subjects of the two parts of such a sentence must be different. In such a case, the imperfective participle may stand either by itself, or stressed by the suffix -i, or even geminated, with an inserted nā and the suffix -i added to the last part of the construction. In the latter two occurences, the immediate sequence of the two verbal actions involved is stressed, e.g.

tren thāmte tren thāmtei tren thāmte nā thāmtei	āmrā nāmlum	When the train stopped As soon as the train stopped The train has not fully stopped yet when	we descended

1.3.2. The geminated imperfective participle, as the final part of a clause, can be used, however, also in cases, where a sequence of two actions is not involved. Animesh Pal, in his article "The Problems of Bengali Verb and Syntax",[14] gives the following example:

kāj karte karte kathā belbār phursat pāi nā - While working I do not get an opportunity to talk.

A.Pal says that in such a case, the geminated imperfective participle "suggests a background situation rather than an action". I would prefer describing this type of syntactic construction as a combination of two simultaneous actions, or as a sequence in which the action expressed in the final part takes place at a time when the first action is still lasting (e.g. simri dive yete yete pradīptā tār nibe geche bātāsete - While she was going downstairs, her lamp extinguished in the wind, Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur[15]).

Is is interesting to note that in a very similar sense, the imperfective participle is sometimes used also in a non-geminated form[16]. The case which I have in mind may be illustrated by the following quotation from Premendra Mitra's Ghanādār galpa (p.130):

tabu prāṇ thākte hāl chere dite nei - But one should not abandon the helm as long as one is alive (lit. as long as the life exists),

or by the sentence:

dāt thākte dāter marma keu bojhe nā - Nobody understands the importance (the real meaning) of teeth as long as one has them.

In the third chapter of the present paper, further instances will be given, as found in different texts.

1.3.3. In the majority of cases, Bengali imperfective participles occur in combinations with various auxiliary verbs. In order to differentiate these combinations from those in which perfective participles are used and which result in new verbal compounds (see 1.4.3.), we have agreed with Dr.Animesh Pal to propose to call auxiliary verbs combining with imperfective participles mode makers. They really play essentially the same role as Modalzeitwörter in German, or modal verbs in English, though these German and English equivalents do not fully cover the same range as the Bengali verbs of this character. Let us list them, in combination with the verb karā ("to do"), in calit-bhāshā forms:

	karte pāri	- I can do
/āmāke/	karte hay	- I must do
/āmāke/	karte āche /nei/	- I should /not/ do
	karte cāi	- I want to do
	karte yāi	- I am going /about/ to do
	karte lāgi	- I start to do
	karte thāki	- I continue to do
	karte basechi	- I sit down /or:set my mind/to do
	karte dii	- I allow to do, I let do

A large number of combinations may be added, in which the Bengali imperfective participle corresponds to the English infinitive, such as:

kājtā karte esechi - I came to do it

kājtā karte śikhechi - I learned to do it
kājtā karte tāke balechi - I told him to do it
kājtā karte tāke dekhechi - I saw him do it
kājtā karte sthir karechi - I decided to do it
kājtā karte sāhas pai ni - I had no courage to do it, etc.

The most characteristic feature of all these constructions is the fact that their both verbal components retain their respective meaning (though sometimes different from the primary one, like in the sentence with basechi quoted above).

Only one case seems to form an exception from this rule. It is the mode maker pāoyā ("to get"), combined most frequently with imperfective participles of verbs expressing sensual perception, such as dekhā ("to see") and śonā ("to hear"). Even in these cases, however, we can interpret the verb pāoyā as retaining its meaning, because a definite change of meaning of the first verb is achieved by its combination with pāoyā. Thus mere dekhā means originally "to look at", whereas dekhte pāoyā "actually to see" ("to obtain the object of looking at"); śonā - "to listen to", but śunte pāoyā "actually to hear" ("to obtain the object of listening to"). But pāoyā does not combine only with verbs of sensual perception. Let us quote at least one instance, from Rabīndranāth's Gorā (p.24):

Binu tomār ghare khete pābe nā - Binu will not eat (will not be allowed to eat) in your room

When asked about their opinion about sentences of this kind, some of my Bengali colleagues suggested that the verb pāoyā may have got contaminated with pārā (to be able, to be allow-

ed to do something)[17]. I am not fully satisfied with this explanation; but in order not to complicate things more than necessary, I shall add pāyā to mode makers and treat it under this heading.

1.4.1. Perfective participles in *-iyā, -e, with their manifold use, are among the most characteristic features of modern Bengali. It is especially the way of connecting syntactic clauses by means of perfective participles which is typical for this language. As well known, long series of syntactically related and temporarily subsequent clauses, instead of using connectives + finite verbal forms, employ these participles, only the last part of the "chain" retaining a finite form.

1.4.2. Perfective participles are not, however, confined only to such sentences, in which a temporal sequence is involved. They help also to form adverbial clauses, by which the main verbal action of the sentence is expanded or determined, in some way. It is especially the participle *kariyā, kare (lit. "having done"), which very often serves this purpose.

Even if two simultaneous verbal actions are to be expressed, a perfective participle may be used; here, however, geminated forms are preferred, not differing considerably in meaning from geminated imperfective participles, as described under 1.3.2.

1.4.3. Leaving aside participles, which have degenerated

into mere postpositions (dhare - during, haye - through, diye - through, theke - from, ceye - than, x lāgiyā - because of, etc.), a special use of the perfective participle requires closer attention. I mean the ability of Bengali verbs to create, by combining at least one verb in a perfective participle form with another in any finite or non-finite form, either an altogether new meaning or, more often, a different shade or aspect. A.Pal calls these combinations verbal compounds, describing them as "compounds of two verb roots placed side by side" and suggesting "one single meaning which is sometimes different from the original meaning of the two verb roots".[18] In general, the meaning of the compound is derived from the meaning of the first component, the second one, aptly called by A.Pal compound maker, serving as a kind of modifier, adding different shades, making the meaning more precise or supplying the main verb with different aspects.

When confronted with mode makers, the group of compound makers is far more complicated and more difficult to be described and categorized. Whereas mode makers are rather limited in number and unambiguous, as far as their meaning is concerned, compound makers are more numerous and, in some cases, less distinctive. Not exceptionally are they used to create not only altogether new meanings, but also idioms (e.g. āmār tāte ki ese yāy? - What concern of mine is it? or tā āmār baye gela - I am fed up with it). On the other hand, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether a combination of this kind is a real verbal compound or simply a sequence of

two independent verbs (thus ese parla can mean either "he came and fell down", or, interpreted as a compound, "he suddenly came"). And finally, the whole category of compound makers is not easy to be defined in such a way that all existing cases would be covered. Thus whereas in a standard Bengali grammar by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, twelve different verbs are mentioned in this function (being called sahakārī kriyā, i.e. auxiliary verbs),[19] A.Pal enumerates 18 verb roots as compound makers, including, however, two clear cases of mode makers (lāg- to begin, and ha- must, to have to) both combining with imperfective participles[20].

We shall not go into more details, at the present moment. I have no doubt that the whole problem of Bengali verbal compounds will have to be solved by Bengali linguists, possessing not only theoretical erudition needed for the task, but also the language feeling, which cannot be acquired in full by any foreigner. I shall, however, as a small contribution to the study of this problem, try to analyse all combinations found in the above mentioned texts, to be considered as verbal compounds, in the last part of the present paper.

In the following chapters, I shall treat the selected texts divided into two groups, including classical epics in the first, and modern prose in the second.

2. Distribution of Verbal Forms in Classical Poetry

A mere glance at the chart given on the p.8 is sufficient to prove that we are justified in separating, in our treatment, classical epics from modern prose. In the former, finite verbal forms take up between 66% and 75%, in the latter between 45% and 62% of all verbal forms. The only category of non-finites, in which no considerable changes are apparent, is that of perfective participles; but as we shall see later, even within this group an important inner differentiation took place, at the end of the classical period. The remaining three groups of non-finites need no special comments, showing an immense increase in number in the modern period, as opposed to the classical one.

21.1. Verbal nouns and adjectives are especially convincing, in this respect. Out of the total of 2396 instances listed in all texts, only 217, i.e. mere 9%, were found in classical poetry. The majority of these instances belong morphologically to the so-called future verbal nouns (with the future indicator -bā-). But present verbal nouns as well as verbal adjectives grow more rapidly in number, even during the classical period. This fact can be documented by the following survey:

	future verbal nouns	present verbal nouns	verbal adjectives	totals
Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan	25	5	2	32
Manasābijay	42	7	9	58
Rāmāyaṇ	25	19	5	49
Annadāmaṅgal	37	25	16	78
	129	56	32	217

2.1.1. The majority of future verbal nouns, used in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, are to be found in constructions in which, in modern texts, imperfective participles are used. Thus we find them combined with various mode makers, such as pārā (to be able, to be allowed, e.g. parāṇ dibāk pārõ - I can give life, CS II.6,9[21]), cāoyā (to want, e.g. cumban dibārẽ cāhe badanakamale - he wants to kiss the lotus of the face, CS III.57, 9), or deoyā (to let, to allow, e.g. jāibār nā dili - you did not let me go, CS III.48,6), or with other verbs to denote the object of their action. Less frequent are those cases in which the use of the future verbal noun corresponds to the modern one (e.g. āsibār belẽ - at the time of coming, CS V.24,12).

The same is true of the remaining three classical texts. Here, however, future verbal nouns expressing the object of an action grow in frequency, e.g. snān karibāre Hare karilā gaman - Hare went to take bath, BM I.20.55. In all these cases, the future verbal noun freely interchanges with imperfective participles which, during the further development, will push verbal nouns altogether out of constructions of this kind.

2.1.2. Present verbal nouns pose a more complicated problem, in classical texts. Thus in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, 4 out of 5 recorded instances use lekhā, in the sense of "counting, calculation" (e.g. lekhā kare Kānhāñi āpaṇe kharī pārī - K. counts himself etc., CS III.8.15). In Manasābijay, again, the majority of the recorded cases use various present verbal nouns in connection with the auxiliary deoyā (e.g. dekhā deoyā - to show oneself, tolā deoyā - to lift, nārā deoyā - to shake). In Rāmāyaṇ, the verb dekhā is much preferred, in combination with auxiliaries deoyā (to show oneself), habe (there will be meeting), pāoyā (to see). Even Annadāmaṅgal, in which some of present verbal nouns correspond to the use of this form in modern language, the combination dekhā deoyā remains the most favourite construction (9 out of 15 recorded cases).In short, in the overwhelming majority of the recorded instances, classical present verbal nouns avoid syntactic constructions; a distinctive tendency towards stereotyped connections may be stated, apart from which the use of present verbal nouns is rather rare[22].

The passive voice, using verbal nouns in modern language, is even rarer, in the classical period. Not a single case was recorded, both in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan and in Manasābijay. In the former, however, an isolated instance of the connection of the present verbal noun with yāoyā, in the sense of "it is possible to", was found: eṛāna nā jāe - it is not possible to avoid, CS III.61.10. In Rāmāyaṇ, 5 instances with dekhā yāy - it is possible to see, were recorded, as well as two

constructions kāṭā gela - it was cut. As we shall see, later on, the use of yāoyā in passive constructions, instead of haoyā, is not at all exceptional in modern texts. In Annadāmaṅgal, however, yāoyā remains restricted to such cases only, the meaning of which is "it is possible" (e.g. kahā nāhi yāy - it is not possible to say, BA 80.10), whereas the only recorded instance of a "true" passive voice uses haoyā (siddhi ghoṭā haila - the hemp-leaves were ground, BA 62.25). In one isolated case, in Manasābijay, the passive voice is formed by the combination of a perfective participle + haoyā: samsār bhariyā haila eta apamāne - the world was filled with such an insult, BM II.4,6; but more instances would be necessary to enable us to draw any conclusion, in this respect[23].

2.1.3. Verbal adjectives are not at all frequent, in classical texts. Moreover, it is sometimes very difficult to state whether a word, though in a form of a verbal adjective, is not felt as a mere adjective, with no verbal element in it. Thus both cases recorded in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan hint at such a possibility: muniman hae bholā - the mind of the saint gets confused, III.29,8; pāc pāter nāsa gātar bharā - the little boat is full of your body, IV.24,15).

To sum up, we can state that all variants of verbal nouns and adjectives are far from being as common as in modern language, but they start to grow in number in the classical period already.

2.2. Conditional participles, apart from their rather low frequency, do not differ in any considerable way from those

used in the modern language. They express, in the majority of recorded cases, a condition, but replace sometimes also perfective participles, expressing mere temporal sequence of two verbal actions, with no condition involved. Out of 207 conditional participles recorded in the four classical texts, 11 are used in this sense, e.g. adha nadī gelē pān bahe khar bāe - when they reach the middle of the river, a stormy wind carries the water, CS IV.25,6; ei kathā kahiya āile Trilocan - say this thing, after the Three-eyed one comes, BM I.9,12; caudda-barsha gele Rām āsiben deś - after fourteen years pass, Ram will come home, KR 114,I,7 etc.

There are no stereotyped tā hale (*tāhā haile) and nā hale (*nā haile), meaning "in this case" and "otherwise", respectively, in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, Manasābijay or Rāmāyaṇ, though they are so frequent in modern Bengali. Two cases of *nā haile, recorded in Annadāmaṅgal, indicate, however, that these connectives did not origin as late as in the 19th century.

2.3. Unlike the previous non-finites, imperfective participles are both numerous enough, in the classical poetry, and rather varied in their use. They appear in syntactic constructions as well as combined with various mode makers and other verbs.

2.3.1. The imperfective participle is never used, apart from two instances recorded in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, expressing a verbal action preceding another, as described in I.3.1. The two instances found in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan are as follows:

āsitē tomhāk dibŏ kol - after we come (back), I shall give you an embrace, CS V.24.4

āsitē puribŏ āś tor cakrapānī- after we come (back), I shall fulfil your hopes, CS V.25.12

As these cases exactly correspond with the type tren thāmte āmrā nāmlum, described in I.3.1, they should not arouse any special attention. Surprising, however, is their complete isolation in our classical texts. Perfective participles do not appear, in constructions of this type, until very recent times, being found among our texts, only in Putulnācer itikathā and in Ghanādār galpa.

2.3.2. An imperfective participle as the final part of a subordinated sentence, in a construction combining two or more simultaneous actions, appears rather often in our classical texts[24]. Whereas in the modern language, however, the geminated participle is much preferred, in the classical poetry a non-geminated imperfective participle is more frequent, as the following survey shows:

	single imp.part.	geminated imp.part.[25]
Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan	23	1
Manasābijay	15	5
Rāmāyaṇ	11	5
Annadāmaṅgal	6	8
	55	19

This chart seems to indicate not only a tendency towards replacing the single imperfective participle by a ge-

minated one (which tendency continues, as will be seen, also in modern times), but also the possibility that single imperfective participles were originally the only ones to be used in constructions of this kind, and that geminated participles represent a later development.

Let us document these constructions by a few examples:

pāche pāche jāitẽ path hārāila āmhi - going behind, I lost my way, CS II.3,8

tār bol bulitẽ sab gāa bish jale - when he is saying these words /my/ whole body is burned by poison, CS III.52.13

kāmpitẽ kāndiẽ bolõ tomhār čarane - trembling I say in tears at your feet, CS.III.67,15

ki nā bhaẽ gela mor Mathurāk jaitẽ - what happened to me,when /I was/ going to Mathura, CS III.77,15

bane jāitẽ Baravi Kānhāñi yabẽ pāe - when K. finds me, going to the forest, CS III.92.19

āu thākitẽ .... maran ichasi - you want the death, while being still alive, CS V.7.1

bhābite cintite bidaraye mor buk - my heart breaks, when I think and reflect it, BM II.4.10

bhramite param rañge ñilā marate - wandering in the supreme pleasure, she came to the world, BM V.10,2

pramāi thākite mor badhili parāṇ - you killed my life, when my age is still lasting, KR 93.I.27

yāite dekhen tāre dibya sarobar - going they see the divine lake, KR 131, I.19

gāye prabeśite bāṇ pare Khara bīr - when the arrow enters /his body/,the hero Khara falls, KR 137.II.36

se pāp thākite nāriba rākhite - as long as this sin lasts, I shall not be able to keep, BA 30,1

bistar rodan kailā kahite bistar - we wept much, saying much, BA 36,6

śunite maṅgal taba yār bhakti hay - who gets devoted, when hearing your mangal, BA 87,15

I have quoted more instances to show, what a large variety of combinations is to be found, in classical poetry. On the one hand, two sentences with the same subject occur, on the other, those with different subjects. Mere temporal congruence interchanges here with closely immediate sequence (cf.KR 137.II.36), or with what can be interpreted in English "as long as", etc. On the other hand, simple imperfective participles are, as said above, more and more often replaced by geminated ones. Let us see some of the latter cases:

calitē calitē tor runujhunu bāje - when going, your anklets resound, CS II,7.17

kāndite kāndite kahe gadagada-bhāsh - weeping he speaks incoherently /and 3 other identic cases/, BM IV.5,37

deba-dhyāna beda-gāna karite yajña jethā āsi tathā mililā turite - wherever he goes, doing meditations and singing Vedas etc., BM IV.9.31

yāite yāite rānī karen bishād - going the queen is sad, KR 112.I.25

dekhite dekhite rājā gela svargapure - immediately the king went to the heavenly city, KR 124.I.4

karite karite tap pākiyāche keś - /his/ hair grew white,while he was doing the penance, KR 127.I.14

bhramite bhramite gela Rāmer sadane - wandering around, she came into the presence of Rām, KR 133.II.25

calite calite gela Rāmer nikaṭe - going he came to Rām, KR 141.II.8

śabarūpe āilām bhāsite bhāsite - I came in the form of a corpse floating, BA 26.22

sakalere dite bar pratimāy kailā bhar sudhādṛshṭe hāsite hāsite - to do them all a favour, she entered the statue, smiling in a nectar-like smile, BA 102.1-2

kahite lāgilā debī hāsite hāsite - the goddess started to speak smiling, BA 103.28 (dtto 121.18)

kahite kahite haila krodher uday - when speaking, the anger appeared, BA 130.7

ek din śūnya pathe Annapūrṇā...bhramite bhramite - A., when she was wandering one day on a vacant way, BA 163.23-24

yāite yāite pāilā dekhite - going on, she saw, BA 173.7

All recorded instances were quoted in full, in order to prove that in many cases, there is practically no difference at all between the use of a single imperfective participle and that of a geminated one. On the other hand, however, geminated imperfective participles are found, in classical texts, side by side with geminated perfective participles, in practically the same sense. The latter occur rather seldom, in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan (2 cases), Manasābijay (1 case), and in Rāmāyaṇ (2 cases), but start to be much more frequent, in Annadāmaṅgal already (15). Let us see the instances recorded in the first three texts:

dhāẽ dhāẽ Mathurā pālāsī - running you are fleeing to Mathura, CS III.2.8

lotāẽ lotāẽ kānde Rāhī - R. weeps, rolling about, CS III.79.3

ghuri ghuri phiri buli soyāsti nā pāy - he feels no consolation, turning around and going here and there, BM IV.21.51

bāchiyā bāchiyā āna kulīn brāhman - bring a kulin brahmin, selecting (him carefully). KR 99.II.13

e kathā śuniyā Rām kan hāsi hāsi - hearing it, R.says smiling, KR 122.II.29

We shall discuss the relation between geminated perfective and imperfective participles, in more detail, in the next chapter, after more instances are available.

Another quite interesting instance may be quoted to document how the difference between imperfective and perfective participles gets minimized, in the classical period. Besides the stereotyped and rather frequent ^{x}dekhite (to be looked at), in the sense of "looking, to look at", the perfective ^{x}dekhiyā is to be found, too.

Thus we have:

ati dekhite sundar - she is very beautiful, to look at, BM IV.7.10,

but also, in the same text:

janmila duranta byāghra dekhi bhayaṅkar - an unconquerable tiger was born, looking terrible, BM II.3.14.

2.3.3. Practically all mode makers, used in the modern language, are to be found in combinations with imperfective participles, in the classical texts, with the only exception of thākā

(to remain, to keep on), which occurs here combined exclusively with perfective participles. Their lower frequency is partially compensated by the fact that most of these mode makers may combine also, as mentioned above, with future verbal nouns. The difference in frequency is most striking with hay /haibe, haile/ - to have to, which occurs only 12 times in all classical texts, against 246 cases recorded in modern prose. With other mode makers, the difference in frequency is not so apparent (thus cāoyā 29 times in the four classical books, and 85 in the six modern texts, pārā 139 in the former and 666 in the latter, etc.).

No considerable difference is to be observed also in those cases in which the Bengali imperfective participle corresponds to the English infinitive. Thus we find it, in classical texts, combined with nishedh karā (to forbid), ājñā karā (to order), pratijñā karā (to promise), sthir karā (to decide), bhay karā (to be afraid), etc., which all appear, in the same connections in modern texts, too.

2.4.1. Perfective participles are the only non-finites which are so frequent, in classical literature, that they may cope in number with these forms, as found in the modern language. In more than one half of all recorded cases, they are used in syntactic constructions to express the temporal sequence of two or more verbal actions. This use is so well known from modern Bengali that it does not require any special commentary. One exception may be mentioned only - the non-existence of a construction with *baliyā, bale (lit."having said"), in the sense

of "because", to express the causal clause, as we have it in the modern language. In classical texts, two clauses expressing a cause and its result, are usually simply juxtaposed with the first verb in the perfective participle, e.g. tomhāke nā dekhi Rādhā pore mor man - as I do not see you (not seing you) R. my heart burns, CS II.9.3., or, sata-mā haiyā eta kare apamān - as she is /my/ step-mother /being etc./, she insults/me/ so much, BM I.22.47.

2.4.2. In a very large number of cases, we find perfective participles instead of finite forms in such clauses, in which no temporal sequence of the individual verbal actions is involved. There is a large variety of possibilities, within this range, sometimes rather difficult to be classified. The basic type is a simple juxtaposition of two verbal actions parallel in time and with no inner dependence, as, for instance: kathā khāni khāni kahila Barāyi basiā Rādhār pāśe - sitting at Rādhā's side, B. said etc., CS II.12.1.-2, or, sarasa hāsiā bola bacan - with a smile (smiling) say the words, CS III.31.21.; kenhe hena kaha hā goāl jātī - why do you speak so, being a Goyal by caste, CS III.54.7; dāndāiyā cāhe ghane ghan - standing he is looking (at her) again and again, BM I.10.2; deb haiyā kena kara hena durācār - being a god, why do you do such a mischief, BM I.14,9, etc.

More frequently, however, the verb in the perfective participle is subordinated to the main verb, explaining it in some way. The most common seem to be those cases in which an adverbial phrase is created, by means of a perfective particip-

le, e.g. Kaṁśe kanyā māyile śilāpāṭe āchāriā̃ - Kansa killed the girl by throwing (her) on a stone, CS I.5.19, or tebe nām dhariyā ḍākilā dhīre dhīr - he slowly called you using your name, BM I.11.2. In many cases, the participle from karā (to do) is used, such as: sakhi sāt pā̃c kari saṅge Mathurāk jāõ - I go to Mathura, taking a few friends along, CS III.14.16. or ḍākilā Śiber tare kariyā madhur svare - he called Śiva using sweet voice, BM I.8.5. This ^{x}kariyā loses its independent meaning more and more, tending to become a mere postposition, as we know it finally from the modern language (cf. spashṭa kare - distinctly etc.). Sometimes it is rather difficult to find the border-line between these two possibilities, e.g. e kāj sādhiba āmhe kariā̃ yatane - I shall accomplish this work (doing it) carefully, CS II.6.10, or baisa baisa kari bale param kautukī - sit down, says he with greatest eagerness, BM I.18.30, or kāndite lāgilā tebe karuṇā kariyā - then she began to weep sadly, BM I.23.32.

Apart from this ^{x}kariyā, also other perfective participles are used as postpositions, in classical poetry, such as laiyā, niyā, lāgiyā, diyā etc. More interesting to note, however, are some other forms of this kind, which are used in stereotyped, more or less fossilized connections; sometimes one must doubt whether they were still being felt as verbal forms at all. The most frequent, in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, is jiṇī (i.e. jiniyā)[26] - conquering, used especially in similes to express the physical beauty of a person, e.g. matta rājhaṁsa jiṇī calae bilambe - she walks slowly conquering a mad flamingo, CS II.4.16, or ānat kapāl tār ādh śaśi jiṇī -

her reclining forehead conquers the half-moon, CS II.25.8. Very often, like in the latter case, the whole sentence lacks any finite verbal form at all, so that we must conceive the whole as a nominal sentence. Another perfective participle to be found very often, in the same book, is jāṇī (i.e. jāniyā) - known. I shall quote at least one rather typical instance in full, to show its unusual structure: āihan bīr tin lokē bhāle jāṇī / tomhe ki nā cinha āmhe tāhār jāṇī - /my/ husband /is/ a hero known well in the three worlds, don't you know /him/? I am his queen, CS III.24.15-16. The commentary to Śrīkṛshṇa-kīrtan gives, in one of such cases, two modern counterparts: jāne, abagata āche[27]. Undoubtedly, however, we must take it in its stereotyped form as a kind of passive participle "being known".[28] The number of these cases is so high that it leaves no doubt about the commonness of both these forms; thus jiṇī appears about 50 times and jāṇī about 30 times, in our portion, the former appearing also in Manasābijay. Among other perfective participles used in similar structures, dekhi (i.e. dekhiyā) was already mentioned, in the sense of "looking as", "to look at". In Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan, then cinhiā̃ appears more times, always in connections of the following type: āpanā cinhiā̃ jāhā nija ghar - go home, recognizing it as your own, e.g. CS III.64.15. In the same sense and connection, this participle is to be found in Rāmāyaṇ as well. In Manasābijay again khāiyā is to be found several times, used as if only to stress the word āpanā - self, e.g. āpanā khāiyā āilām tomār samhati - I from myself (i.e. in spite of the forbiddance) came to you, BM I.22.46. Most probably several other particip-

les of this type could be found in classical texts. Thus even haiyā (having become, being) might be included in this group, in several quotations such as: nikate dāṟāiyā kānde byathita haiyā - standing nearby, he weeps with pain (lit. "being full of pain"), BM I.23.20.

2.4.3. Among combinations of two or more verbs, the most interesting ones are those by which a single verbal action is expressed. As we want to analyze them in more detail, we propose to treat their occurence in the classical poetry along with the modern usage, in the last chapter of the present study.

3. Frequency of Non-Finites in Modern Texts

To avoid repeating certain facts several times, let us remind the reader, at the very beginning, of a few features of the selected texts. First of all, there is only one text among the six written in calit-bhāshā, the colloquial form of Bengali - Premendra Mitra's Ghanādār galpa. On the other hand, Pyāricānd Mitra's Ālāler gharer Dulāl, though very old in comparison to the other books, is, in its language, rather near to the colloquial of its time, certainly much more than Bankimcandra Cattopādhyāy's Bishabṛkshe, with its highly sanskritized diction. These facts should be kept in mind, whenever questions of general tendencies are considered.

3.1. Though all non-finites are more frequent in modern Bengali texts than they were in classical poetry, it is especially the category of verbal nouns and adjectives, as stated already, which marks the difference in the most striking way. Let us give the data obtained in our six texts, in order both to make a more detailed comparison possible, and to acquire a basis for the following analysis:

	future verbal nouns	present verbal nouns	verbal adjectives	totals
Ālāl /PA/	70	276	14	360
Bishabṛksha /BB/	59	85	25	169
Gorā /RG/	120	185	44	349
Śrīkānta /SS/	92	168	35	295
Putulnāc /MP/	105	206	127	438
Ghanādā /PG/	186	296	86	568
	632	1216	331	2179

3.1.1. The combination of a future verbal noun with a mode-maker, favoured by classical poetry, has altogether disappeared in the modern period. This, however, did not result in a decrease of this non-finite. Just the opposite - as the chart shows, its frequency has grown and seems to be growing on, culminating in the most recent (and most colloquial, at the same time) of our texts. A more detailed analysis is necessary to reveal exactly how this increase is to be accounted for.

3.1.1.1. In classical texts already, rather a limited number of cases was recorded in which future verbal nouns were combined with words denoting hope, desire, fear, etc., on the one hand, and, in an even smaller number of instances, with words determining circumstances of the respective verbal action, on the other (time, place, etc.). Both these types appear in modern texts, too, in apparently larger numbers. As the respective chart will show, they constitute, in the modern language, the majority of the recorded future verbal nouns. The scale and variety of words "accompanying" these verbal nouns (standing always in genitive), is so large that they can hardly be described and catagorized in full. Let us quote a number of various instances: possibility (upasthita habār sambhābanā, BB 73), preparations (yāibār bandobasta, BB 41), occasion (khābār abakāś, PA 158) means (pāibār upāy, PA 149), strength (dāṛāibār śakti, PA 167), aim (yācāi karibār uddeśya, RG 81), cause (pacbār kāraṇ, RG 83), way (berobār rāstā, RG 88), effort (hāsibār ceshṭā, RG 8), time (parbār samay, PG 2), necessity (debār darkār, PG 37), advantage (karibār subidhā, MP 13),

matter (balibār bishay, MP 15), whim (dharibār bāynā,SS 72), etc.

3.1.1.2. As a modern innovation, at least in opposition to classical texts analysed by us,those 18 instances appear,in which the future verbal noun has acquired a gerundival meaning (expressing what is to be done, to happen, etc.), such as yā karbār karben (do what is to be done, PG 18), kshati yā habār takhan haye geche (the harm that was to be done had been done already, PG 111), ki dekhibār thāke (what remains to be seen, MP 72), se dṛśyatā bholbār nay (this scene is not to be forgotten, PG 59), tā karbār keha nāi (there is nobody to do it, MP 33), etc.

3.1.1.3. As a new phenomenon, too, a special syntactic construction of the future verbal noun with -mātra appears in all modern texts written in sādhu-bhāshā (at least the only calit-bhāshā text in our list does not contain any instance of this usage), expressing the immediate antecedence of the verbal action in question, e.g. cokher jal dekhibāmātra āmār cokheo jal āsitechila (as soon as I saw his tears, tears came to my eyes, too, SS 36); Gorā caliyā yāibāmātra Hārān drutapade chāte āsiyā Pareśke kahilen (as soon as G. went away, H. came quickly on the roof and said to P., RG 75), etc.

3.1.1.4. Lastly, a considerably large group of future verbal nouns (always in genitive case) is to be found in modern texts in combinations with various postpositions, most frequently with janya (for, in order to), par (after), mata (like) and āge (before). These combinations are also un-

known in our classical texts.

To show the frequency of various types of future verbal nouns as just described, the following chart is given, with numbers referring 1. to combinations as analyzed under 3.1.1.1., 2. to the gerundival use, 3. to future verbal nouns + mātra, and 4. to combinations with postpositions:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	totals
Ālāl	36	-	16	18	70
Bishabṛksha	32	1	4	22	59
Gorā	83	3	3	31	120
Śrīkānta	68	1	4	19	92
Putulnāc	79	7	3	16	105
Ghanādā	119	4	-	63	186
	417	16	30	169	632

3.1.2. Present verbal nouns are nearly twice as numerous, in modern prose, as future ones; and their number, when compared to classical poetry, marks an immense increase (from 56 to 1208). Whereas in classical poetry, they were not only very rare in occurence, but also rather dubious, as far as their verbal character was concerned, they belong to quite common phenomena in the modern language. Their usage, however, is even more varied than that of future verbal nouns; they can interchange with the latter in nearly all types as described in the previous section, but can be moreover used also in such cases in which future verbal nouns are unapplicable.

3.1.2.1. Like future verbal nouns, present ones standing in genitive can be combined with nouns of various meaning, as characterized under 3.1.1.1.; they are, however, far less in percentage, as the chart below will show. Quite a number of pairs may be found, in which identical, or at least analogical words are combined both with a present verbal noun, and with a future one, e.g.:

time: patra lekhār kāle, BB 11 : āhār karibār kāle, RG 78
necessity: asvīkār karār ki darkār, RG 88 : chōbār darkār, MP 3
remedy: guṭi-basānor oshudh, MP 37 : guṭi basābār oshudh, MP 36
effort: narā-carār ceshṭā, SS 35 : ṓodh debār ceshṭā, SS 76
fear: yāoyār bhay, MP 54 : hārāibār bhay, BB 14, etc.

These instances seem to indicate that there is no difference between the present verbal noun and its future counterpart, as far as this particular usage is concerned. This, however, would be an oversimplification. The logic of the Bengali language would require to use the future verbal noun only in such cases, in which the verbal action is directed towards the future, and the present verbal noun in cases when the verbal action is actually taking place or has already been realized. However minute, and in some cases even controversial this difference may be, it is generally respected, by our six authors; and it may be considered significant that grammatically "mistaken" usage of either present or future verbal nouns grows in number in more recent texts, whereas in older ones, it occurs very rarely. Thus, instead of Kalikātāy thākibār samay (in the time when he was staying in Calcutta, MP 14), we could expect thākār samay; and instead of

jabda kerār ichhe (the wish to teach a lesson, PG 98), jabda karbār icche would be perhaps more "correct". Our excerpts indicate that the loss, or at least weakening of the awareness of this difference between present and future verbal nouns is a very recent development, in Bengali.

3.1.2.2. The gerundival meaning is the only one reserved exclusively to the future verbal noun, which is irreplaceable by a present verbal noun, in this function.

3.1.2.3. Even the construction of a future verbal noun + mātra has its counterpart in the combination of a present verbal noun + mātra, though the latter is far less common. Only two cases were recorded in our texts - śonāmātra (as soon as he heard, PG 83) and se āsare dāṛāno mātra (as soon as he stood on the stage, MP 51).

3.1.2.4. In combinations of verbal nouns with various postpositions, the difference between present and future verbal nouns gets lost in an even more apparent way than in 3.1.2.1. Whereas in Rabīndranāth's text, this difference is respected very carefully, in more recent books the two verbal nouns start to interchange more and more freely. Thus we find, in SS 53, daś minit calibār par (after having walked for ten minutes), or, in MP 50, śesh haoyār āgei (before it has ended), or, in PG 47, ekbār phaskābār par (after having slipped once). In general, present verbal nouns are not so frequent like future ones, in combinations with postpositions, as the chart shows.

3.1.2.5. All the above mentioned categories do not cover but a small part (about 15%) of all present verbal nouns recorded in our texts. The most numerous group - with 654 out of 1216 instances - is formed by those verbal nouns which, so to say, retain their original meaning. In this capacity, they often become basic elements of compound verbs, as we have seen it in instances found in classical poetry. In our modern texts, the most frequent auxiliaries to be found in combinations with these verbal nouns, are deoyā (especially in dekhā deoyā, to show oneself, to appear, with 15 instances, but also dhākā deoyā, to cover, cāpā deoyā, to press, and thelā deoyā, to push) and karā (dekhā karā, to see, to meet, 10 times; jamā karā, to gather).

Much more frequently, however, these present verbal nouns appear in syntactic constructions, corresponding with the English infinitive or verbal noun and being, from the formal point of view, combined either a) with simple verbs, or b) with derivated ones (usually formed from a noun or an adjective, with the help of the auxiliaries karā, to do, or, haoyā, to become), or c) with the verbum existentiae (be it expressed or, as is usually the case, unexpressed). Let us quote a few examples:

a) tāhār dvārā kabitva srshti karā ta cale nā, cale śudhu satya kathā sojā kariyā balā - it is not possible for him (lit. through him) to create poetry, what is only possible is to say straight truth, SS 2

b) Parān oder yātrā śunite yāoyā pachanda kare nā - Parān does not like their going to see (lit. to listen to) a yātrā performance, MP 55

kāgaj lekhā śesh haiyāche - the writing of papers came to an end, PA 148

c) ādarer beg samharan karā...sahaj chila nā - it was not easy to keep /her/ violent love within bounds, RG 60

bayas āndāj karā ekebāre asambhab - it is quite impossible to guess /his/ age, PG 1

Present verbal nouns are not seldom, in our texts, used in pairs, to "convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved"[29]. The following combinations were found: lekhā-parā (study, 25 instances), parā-śunā (study, 25 instances), khāoyā-dāoyā (eating, 7), dekhā-śonā (acquaintance, 5), cenā-śonā (dtto, 1), āsā-yāoya or yāoyā-āsā (going and coming, 5) kādā-kātā (lamentation, 2), nārā-cārā or narā-carā (moving to and fro, 2), kenā-becā (buying and selling, 2), melā-mesā (mixing up, 1), nāoyā-khāoyā (bathing and eating, 1) tānā-hecrā (pulling and tearing, 1), ghorā-phirā (wandering around, 1).

3.1.2.6. As stated already, the present verbal noun serves also, in modern Bengali, to form the passive voice.[30] The auxiliary verbs employed in such cases are yāoyā and haoyā, with the following frequency in our texts:

	yāoyā	haoyā
Ālāl	29	14
Bishabṛskha	15	9
Gorā	29	18
Śrīkānta	48	12
Putulnāc	20	19
Ghanādā	79	15
	220	87

The prevalence of yāoyā is obvious enough. At the same time, however, as stated already, the basic meaning of the combination of a present verbal noun with yāoyā does not seem to be a simple passive voice, but the expression of, or at least a hint at, the possibility of the action contained in the verbal noun in question, e.g.:

tārpar ye byāpār ghaṭla tā barṇanā karā yāy nā - it is impossible to describe the event that happened then, PG 15

In some cases it is difficult to decide whether any such hint is involved. A sentence like dūre ekṭā pāhār dekha gela, can be interpreted either as "a mountain was seen in the distance" (simple passive), or "a mountain could be seen in the distance" (possibility). Apart from that, however, there is relatively a large number of cases in which obviously no possibility is hinted at, and yet yāoyā is used, e.g.:

ār janme kata pāp karā giyechila, tāi āmāder eta bhog hateche - how many sins were committed in previous births! therefore we have to suffer so much, PA 168

se kānā kariṭi khooyā giyāche - that money was spent, BB 39

tāhār pare ekṭu ekṭu kariyā paricay pāoyā gela - then acquaintance was obtained bit after bit, RG 13

āro khāniktā agrasar haiyā gantebya sthāne paũchāna gela - after we had gone a little further, a place was reached where it was possible to proceed, SS 21.

Altogether 12 instances of this kind may be quoted, from our excerpts.

In most cases, simple passive voice uses the auxiliary haoyā, e.g.:

tāhā bhālo kariyā śekhā haibe - this will be learned well, PA 156

pūrbei tāhār kichu paricay deoyā haiyāche - he was introduced earlier, BB 28

sāt diner kāj sāt saptāhateo sārā hale nā - seven days' work was not accomplished even during seven weeks, PG 39,etc.

It is not difficult to prove that if the possibility is to be expressed, in a clear way, the necessity is felt to stress it, sometimes in a rather peculiar way. Let us see the following quotations:

tāhā śapath kariyā balite pārā yāy - it can be said under oath, SS 90

sei Ghanādāke āj sandhyā theke ektu tātiye tulte paryanta pārā gela nā - it was impossible at least to incite a bit this Ghanādā, since today evening, PG 35

bhul haveche bhābā yete pāre - it is possible to think that he made a mistake, PG 84

In all these cases, the means to express the possibility appear to be doubled, the verb pārā, "to be able to" being excessive; but as the mere yāoyā, as seen above, sometimes does not express the possibility in a sufficient way, this doubling has to take place.

There are still other ways how to form passive voice in modern Bengali - with the help of parā and other verbs. In these cases, however, the main verb stands in verbal adjective form; therefore we shall treat these cases under 3.1.3.2.

3.1.2.7. The last type of the use of present verbal nouns remaining to be mentioned is that in which this form, with the locative ending -te, -e, concludes a subordinated clause, expressing either a temporal sequence of the clauses concerned, or an action the result of which will appear in the next part of the sentence. Let us quote one instance, at least, from each of our six texts:

anekkshan jale thākāte pīrite haiyāchila - having stayed in water for a long time, he felt pain, PA 180

āmār bāri āsāte tāi ghaṭiyāche - it happened because I had come home, BB 78

anya kono abhibhābak nā thākāte strīke nijer kāche āniyāi rākhite haila - as there was no other guardian, he had to etc., RG 38

āmrā svīkār nā karāy paradin prātaḥkāle śunilām - when we refused, we heard next morning, SS 40

cādarṭi kāndhe deoyāy Śaśīke bhāri bābu dekhāiteche - having thrown the cādar over his shoulder, Śaśī looks like a great bābu, MP 51

haṭhāt ekṭā kathā manē parāy Tānākā uttejanāy ānande adhīr haye uṭhlen - suddenly having got an idea, Tanaka got excited and overcome with joy, PG 105

With the only exception of the earliest text in our list, the frequency of this type of the present verbal noun is rather low, as one can see from the following chart, showing the distribution of all the types described above, under the respective figures (1. standing for 3.1.2.1., 2, for 3.1.2.2., etc.):

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	totals
Ālāl	4	-	-	4	186	41	41	276
Bishabṛksha	12	-	-	1	50	18	4	85
Gorā	3	-	-	4	126	46	6	185
Śrīkānta	12	-	-	10	80	58	8	168
Putulnāc	50	-	1	27	79	42	7	206
Ghanādā	32	-	1	24	133	98	8	296
	113	-	2	70	654	303	74	1216

3.1.3. Verbal adjectives, identical in form with present verbal nouns, were not very frequent in classical poetry. In modern texts, their number shows a steadily increasing tendency, culminating with 127 instances in Mānik Bandyopādhyāy's Putulnācer itikathā. In many cases, these verbal adjectives have become so common that it is difficult to decide whether any verbal element is still felt in them; thus words like pākā (ripe, sound etc., from the verb "to ripen"), poṛā (burnt, cursed etc., from "to burn"), kholā (open, from "to open"), bādhā (bound, fixed etc., from "to bind") etc., especially when used in secondary meanings and idiomatic connections (e.g. pākā cul - grey hair, poṛā kopāl - misfortune, etc.), have little to do with basic verbs they were derived from. Nevertheless we must include them in our analysis as there is no doubt of their verbal origin; and moreover, they are used in syntactic constructions, as will be seen under 3.1.3.2.

3.1.3.1. Verbal adjectives are usually interpreted as passive past participles, and this is really their primary meaning, in the majority of our recorded instances. Most usually, they appear as attributes, either isolated (e.g. gāchher talāy bādhāno bedī - platform constructed under a tree, RG 73), or as concluding elements of compounds (exceptionally often in Mānik Bandyopādyāy's book, e.g. lāl-nīl-kāgaj-morā biri - cigarettes wrapped in red and blue paper, MP 5; upur-karā bāsanguli - dishes turned upside down, MP 27). It is especially in the compounds of this type, however, that the passive character of verbal adjectives gets sometimes changed; I have recorded 33 cases, in our texts (3 in Gorā, 1 in Śrīkānta, 19 in Putulnāc and 10 in Ghanādā) in which verbal adjectives cannot be interpreted as passive past participles. I shall give a few instances to make the point quite clear:

bāp-mā-marā chele - child whose parents have died, RG 44;
imrejī-śekhā lok - man who has learned English, RG 67;
kopi karite pārā meye - girl who can copy, RG 73;
sāp-mārā barśā - spear to kill snakes with, SS 65;
pāye-calā rāstā - way to walk (on foot) on, MP 21 and 54;
buk-bhāṅgā hāhākār - heart-rending cry, MP 25;
ācal-dharā purush - man holding the skirt (of his wife), MP 49;
rakta jal-karā ārtanad - scream turning blood into water, PG 20;
deśbharā śasya - crop filling the land, PG 28, etc.

These quotations are undoubtedly sufficient to prove that out of the original meaning of the past passive participle, which the Bengali adjective had, not only its passive aspect, but

even its preterite element got lost, to a certain degree;and the fact, that there are no instances of this kind to be found in our two 19th century texts seems to indicate, in which time this loss took place.

Similarly as present verbal nouns described under 3.1.2.5, also verbal adjectives sometimes appear in pairs, e.g. ghashāmājā sājāno-gochāno (meye) - made up, well dressed and tidied up (women), MP 57.

3.1.3.2. The verbs yāoyā and haoyā are not the only auxiliaries to form the passive voice in Bengali, as described under 3.1.2.6. There are other verbs to serve the same purpose.They, however, are combined with a non-finite form which is not a verbal noun, but a verbal adjective[31]; and there is always either a suddenness of action, or a continuity of action involved. To express the former meaning, the verb parā is used, and for the latter, three verbs have been found in our texts, viz. āche, thākā and raoyā/rahā/.

Let us present a few instances:

parā: takhan se strīlok dharā pariyāchi bhābiyā balila - then that woman thinking 'I have been caught' said, BB 56

se naukā jhare abaśya mārā pariyāche - that boat was of course overthrown in a storm, PA 177 [32]

āch-: tāhār bhāla jānā āche ye - it is well known to him that, PA 194

Hāru Ghosher sarbasva Kusumer bābār kāche bādhā āche sāt bacher - all property of Haru Ghosh has been mortgaged to Kusum's father for seven years,MP 17

thākā: e-bidvesh kichudiner janye ektu cāpā thekeche - this hatred has remained a bit repressed for a few days, PG 24

piyaner halde pāgṛite ḍhākā thākita - it remained covered by the yellow turban of a peon, MP 24

raoyā: ekṭi glob kāpaṛ divā ḍhākā rahiyāche - a globe was covered by a cloth, RG 52

oi ta nice śikārīder tāṁbu phelā rayeche - a hunters' tent is built there below, PG 4

To conclude this analysis, the respective numbers of verbal adjectives as found in our texts are given below, in the first column of those described under 3.1.3.1., and in the second, of passive constructions:

Ālāl	8	6
Bishabṛksha	17	8
Gorā	29	15
Śrīkānta	17	18
Putulnāc	113	14
Ghanādā	58	28

3.2. Apart from a considerable increase in number, conditional participles do not differ in any way both in classical poetry and in modern texts. Their primary meaning - to express a condition of the following action - remains the same during the whole development of Bengali, as reflected in our texts. We can, however, trace a distinctive tendency towards a loss, or at least a weakening, of the conditional meaning of this participle. Not seldom, this form replaces the perfective par-

ticiple in sentences where no condition is involved, but a simple temporal sequence of two actions is expressed, e.g.:

pare suprīm kort sthāpita haile āin-ādālater dhābkāy imrājīr carcā bāṛiyā uṭhila - after the Supreme Court was established, the study of English grew, etc., PA 156

Nagendra ei kathā baliyā peścāt phirilei Kamal Kundake kole tuliyā laiyā daurilen - as soon as Nagendra said it and turned around, Kamal took Kunda into her arms and ran away, BB 10

mejdār caitanya hailei tini...kahilen - as soon as mejdā regained consciousness, he...said, SS 12

dui pakshe anek uttar cālācāli haile par sampādak balilen - after there had been many retorts on both sides, the editor said, RG 40

Ghanādār galpa sesh hale Gaurānge...jijñāsā karila - when Ghanādā finished his story, Gaurānga...asked, PG 54

Śaśī caliyā gele andhakāre begunkhete dāṛāiyā Kusum ekṭu hāsila - after Śaśī went away, Kusum stood for a while in the brinjal field and smiled, MP 20.

Considerable is also the increase in number of the conditional connective *tāhā haile, tā hale, or *nā haile, nā hale, meaning "if such is the case", "in this case", and "otherwise", respectively. We found it, for the first time, in Bhāratcandra's Annadāmaṅgal, i.e. in an 18th century text; the maximum of 40 instances recorded in Ghanādār galpa prove its undiminishing, if not even growing usage as well as the fact that it is preferred by more colloquial styles of the language.

To conclude these notes on the conditional participle

in our modern texts, let us give a chart showing the frequency of this form in its original conditional meaning /1/, in temporal sequences where no condition is involved /2/, and in conditional connectives tā hale, nā hale/3/:

	1.	2.	3.	totals
Ālāl	247	12	8	267
Bishabṛksha	90	22	39	151
Gorā	114	10	25	149
Śrīkānta	78	21	18	117
Putulnāc	152	22	9	183
Ghanādā	94	4	40	138
	775	91	139	1005

3.3. The increase in number, of the imperfective participle, as witnessed in modern texts, needs no special comment. More interesting will be to follow in which of its numerous possibilities this verbal form is used most frequently.

As stated in the first part of the present study, in syntactic constructions, the imperfective participle can be used, at the end of a clause, to express either 1) an action preceding (immediately) the action comprised in the following clause, or 2) an action simultaneous with that of the following clause. If one action precedes another, the imperfective participle stands either alone (1.1.), or with the suffix -i (1.2.). or in the construction of the type -ite nā -ite/i/ (1.3.). If two simultaneous actions are to be expressed, we find the imperfective participle either

alone (2.1.), or geminated (2.2.), or geminated with the suffix -i attached to the second component. Let us first compare the frequency of all these alternatives, in our six modern texts:

	1.1.	1.2.	1.3.	2.1.	2.2.	2.3.	totals
Ālāl	-	-	12	-	74	-	86
Bishabṛksha	-	-	-	6	52	-	58
Gorā	-	19	-	4	62	-	85
Śrīkānta	1	14	8	2	66	6	97
Putulnāc	4	1	4	5	46	2	62
Ghanādā	3	9	10	3	44	-	69
	8	43	34	20	344	8	457

3.3.1.1. Though very low in number, the instances of a single imperfective participle expressing an action preceding that of the second part of the sentence, are interesting enough to note all of them:

tāmāk sājiyā hũko hāte dite, tini prasanna-mukhe tānite tānite prasna karilen - when I filled the pipe with tobacco and put it into his hand, he asked, smoking with a contented face, SS 85

hāṛitā uthāne āsiyā āchṛāiyā paṛite āj ye ābār o prasanga uṭhibe se sambhābanā thāke nā - after the pot came flying to the courtyard and fell down, there remains no hope any more that the subject will be taken up again, MP 30

āj snāner samay kāne hāt paṛite, - omā, mākṛi kothāy ? - today after bath, when her hand touched /her/ ear - oh God, where is the ear-ring? MP 53

mājhkhāner ekṭā ṣṭeśane gāri thāmte āmār ekjan tābedār karmacārī āmāy selām dite ela - when the train stopped in a station in between, one of my subordinate officers came to greet me, PG 26

tār duṭi saṅgīr dike cokh parte ektu abāk haye se balle - when his eyes fell on his two friends, he said a little surprised, PG 63

ekdike se śabda śesh nā-hate ārek dike se śabder abikal pratidhvani śuru haye gela - as soon as the sound came to an end, in one direction, its echo started in another direction, PG 81

bṛshṭi thāmite belā kābār haiyā āsila - before the rain stopped, the day was over, MP 2

ghum bhāṅgite paradin sakaleri belā hay - before all of them awoke next morning, it was daytime, MP 53

In five quoted instances, the succession of the actions involved is quite clear. The sixth instance, with a nā- added, may be taken as a variant of the -ite nā -ite type which will be described under 3.3.1.3. The last two instances seem to form a special sub-type of the succession of two actions.

3.3.1.2. Much more frequently, a non-geminated imperfective participle, employed to express the precedence of the action in question, appears with the suffix -i, giving it the meaning of a very immediate precedence. Even here, however, a few noteworthy exceptions were found. But let us quote a few "normal" cases first:

ḍāktār caliyā yāitei bṛddha atyanta saṃkucita o byasta haiyā uṭhilen - as soon as the doctor went away, the old man

became extremely uneasy and busy, RG 9

thelātheli kariyā bāhir haitei dekhi - as soon as I pushed my way through and got out, I saw, SS 11

mukh tulitei sāmne ate bara ektā putul pariyā thākite dekhile - if she sees, after looking up, such a big puppet lying in front of her, MP 11

ektā bāk phirtei dūre ektā ālokita jāygā dekhā gela - as soon as we took a turn, there appeared an illuminated place in the distance, PG 49

In one case, the imperfective participle + -i was found with the negative particle nā, in the meaning of "before the action took place":

tār daś din nā yetei to Gorāke pelum - before ten days have elapsed, I got Gorā, RG 43

Rather surprising are the following two cases, in which the imperfective participle, with an -i, does not express any succession of the verbal actions involved:

chototi Kalikātāy thākitei olāuthā haiyā mārā giyāche - the younger /son/ died of cholera, when /while/ staying in Calcutta, RG 53

ardhek rāt tārpar āmāder parasparer khōj khabar nitei kete gela - half of the night was spent then by looking for each other, PG 49

In both these cases, obviously, an imperefective participle without -i would be more suitable.

It is worth mentioning that neither the type 3.3.1.1. nor 3.3.1.2. are represented in our two 19th century texts.

3.3.1.3. The type -ite nā -ite/i/ is, from the formal point of view, the most intensified way how to express an action quite immediately preceding another. In fact, however, there is no difference in meaning between this type and a simple imperfective participle + -i. Let us quote one instance from each of the four texts in which this type was found:

sūrya asta haite nā haite Matilāl pulise ānīta haila - as soon as the sun set, Matilāl was brought to the police, PA 160[33]

sandhyā uttīrna haite nā haitei cāridik gārh andhakāre chāiyā giyāche - as soon as the evening was over, all the four directions were covered by deep darkness, SS 9

sandhyedīp jvālte nā jvālte dekhte eseche - as soon as the evening lamp was lit, he came to see/you/, MP 18

mohānta ghum bhāṅgte nā bhāṅgtei tār ghare ese hājir - the abbot came to his room, as soon as he awoke, PG 102

3.3.2.1. The rather rare occurence of the simple imperfective participle, expressing an action simultaneous with that included in the following part of the same sentence, proves that we were right in assuming that this means of expressing simultaneous actions continues to be pushed out of the language more and more by other ways. Let us see at least some of the recorded cases:

kakhan kakhan Kumud baliyā dākite Kunda baliyā phelen - sometimes, when calling Kumud, he says Kunda (by mistake), BB 34

kintu se ta pran thākte pāriba nā - but I shall not be able (to do) that as long as I live, BB 65

samay thākte nijeke sāmle niyo - restrain yourself before it is late (lit. as long as there is time), RG 21

āmi bēce thākte konomatei se hate pārbe nā - as long as I am alive, it cannot happen at any account, RG 46

tomār saṅge yete āmrā hāpiye pari - when going with you, we get short of breath, RG 84

jībita thākite tāhārā śāstrīya kāj...ghaṭite dite pāriben nā - as long as they live, they will not allow anything against the śāstras to happen, SS 40 and 80;

guṭiguli śukāiyā jhariyā parite kārtik mās kābār haiyā agrahāyaṇero kayek din lāgiyāche - it took the whole month of kārtik and a few days of agrahāyaṇ before the eruption dried up and fell off, MP 64

Jāpāne thākte o-māchar kshamatār kathā jenechilām - I learned to know the ability of this fish, when I was staying in Japan, PG 94

In the majority of our recorded cases, the verb used in this form and meaning is thākā (to stay).

3.3.2.2. As the chart shows, the geminated imperfective participle is much more frequent than the simple one, in the same meaning. Let us, for the present moment, quote only one instance from each of our texts:

Haribol śabda karite karite Gaṅgātīre ānila - they carried him onto the bank of Ganges, saying Haribol, PA 201

bālikārā agrasar haite haite saṅkucitā haila - as the girls were coming nearer, they got confused, BB 9

tār pare tarka karite karite katadin rātri duitā haiyā geche -

how many times then, when they were having a discussion, it came two o'clock in the night, RG 15

nijer kāj karite karite balite lāgila - doing his work, he started to speak, SS 24

baṭikā tairi karite karite mṛta rogī punarāy mariyā yāiba - while (he will be) preparing the pills, the deceased patient will die again, MP 32

galāy hāt bulote bulote ebār hase ballām - rubbing/my/ neck, I said laughing, PG 106

3.3.2.3. As a variant of the preceding, the geminated imperfective participle appears, in a few cases, with the suffix -i:

balite balitei adamya bāshpocchyāas āmār kanthanālī ruddha haiyā gela - while saying this (or: as soon as I said it), my throat was choked by an ungovernable outburst of tears, SS 22

balite balitei tāhār śesher kathāguli keman ekrakam yena bhāri haiyā uṭhila - while he ways saying it, his last words became somehow serious, SS 61

balite balitei tāhār ducokh diyā jhar jhar kariyā jal jhariyā paṛite lāgila - while she was saying it (or: as soon as she said it), tears started to fall in streams from her eyes, SS 77

balite balitei Yāminī sāhas hāray - even during saying it, Yāminī loses the courage, MP 37

Though the instances collected in our texts are not numerous enough to enable us to draw a definite conclusion, they seem

to indicate that this geminated imperfective participle with -i is used in such cases when the border line between the two actions involved gets virtually lost, when the two actions follow each other in such a close succession that they actually become one.

3.3.3. Considerable is the increase in number of those cases in which we find the imperfective participle combined with various mode makers, in modern texts. To show this increase, let us introduce the following chart in which all of our ten texts are included:

	CS	BM	KR	BA	PA	BB	RG	SS	MP	PG	totals
pārā	42	33	27	37	105	118	133	125	77	108	805
pāoyā	6	-	4	19	8	28	18	30	17	27	157
lāgā	2	7	6	20	99	71	71	63	11	3	353
yāoyā	2	12	13	5	17	7	18	19	37	26	156
hay	2	-	3	7	64	26	45	48	22	41	258
āche/nei/	1	1	-	5	2	-	1	3	3	-	16
cāoyā	13	2	8	6	4	10	32	14	10	15	114
thākā	-	-	-	-	9	1	6	3	12	1	32
deoyā	8	3	-	4	4	2	12	5	10	4	52
basā	-	-	2	-	5	7	10	6	5	1	36
	76	58	63	103	317	270	346	316	204	226	1979

3.3.4. The rest of the imperfective participles found in our modern texts belong to that group in which this form corresponds with the English infinitive. In itself, this rather large group seems to present no problem at all. We must remember,

however, that in a similar, if not even identical meaning, the verbal noun is very often used in modern Bengali, too (cf. 3.1.2.5.). Thus a new question arises - is there any difference between the cases, in which the imperfective participle corresponding with the English infinitive is used, and those in which, in the same meaning, the verbal noun is employed?

If the verb is to express the object of the action comprised in the main sentence ("I came to tell you" type), it must have the form of an imperfective participle; if a verbal noun is to be employed, in such a case, it must stand in genitive and the postposition janya (for, because of) must be added. E.g.:

lekhāparā śikhite grām chāriyā parer bāṛite āsiyāchile - you left the village and came to another's house in order to study, SS 8

tinkhānā naukā āmāder giliyā phelibār janya yena krshnakāy daityer mata chuṭiyā āsiteche - three boats are coming (running) in order to swallow us, like black-bodied demons, SS 22;

jām ānte gāche uṭhechila - he climbed the tree to bring jām fruits, MP 22

Śaśī bāṛi yāoyār janya uṭhile - when Śaśi stood up to go home, MP 31.

As for the remaining cases - in which imperfective participles are far less frequent than verbal nouns - the following observations have resulted from our excerpts:

a) If the action is qualified in some way, the verb must stand in the form of a present verbal noun; the imperfect-

ive participle is never used in such cases; e.g. it is easy, difficult, troublesome, possible, dangerous etc. to do; it is /my/ duty, /his/ work, a nuisance, a pleasure etc. to do; the action is equal to, it means to, it is a shame to, etc.

b) In combinations with verbs expressing various feelings and attitudes, the imperfective participle is preferred. Thus we have found this form combined with the following verbs: to love (bhālabāsā), to like or dislike (bhāla, manda, khārāp lāge), to feel inclined (āsakta), sorry, troubled (duḥkha, kashṭa hay, kleśa bodh hay, kāṭar haoyā), to hesitate (dvidhā, itastataḥ karā, saṃkoc bodh karā), to have scruples (sandeha karā), to despise (abajñā karā), to agree (anumati deoyā, svīkār karā), to have strength (jor), energy (udyam), courage (sāhas), patience (dhairya) to do something, to be ready (rāji, udyata, prastuta, sammata), busy (byasta, rata, niyukta), able (saksham), obliged (bādhya) to do something.

c) With imperfective participles, too, the following verbs occur in our texts:

to know (jānā), to learn or teach (śekhā, śekhāna), to see (dekhā), to hear (śonā), to say (balā), to order (hukum, ajñā karā), to forbid (nishedh, mānā karā), to ask (anurodh karā), to forget (bholā, bhule yāoyā), to object (āpatti karā), to advise (parāmarśa karā), to indicate (iṅgit karā), to intend (saṃkalpa karā), to start (śuru, ārambha karā, prabṛtta haoyā), to cease (kshānta haoyā, chāṛā), to be afraid (bhay karā), to wish (icchā karā), to try (ceshṭā

karā), to feel ashamed (lajjā bodh karā), to be hampered (bādhe), disinclined (sādh nāi, man nāi), to find convenient, inconvenient (subidhā, asubidhā bodh karā).

Many of the verbs included in this group, however, were found combined with verbal nouns also. Let us quote all these cases, to illustrate the interchangeability of these forms in full:

-ite	-ā/r/, -bār
āmāder ektu abāk hate dekhe tini bellen - seeing that we were a bit surprised (us to be surprised a bit) he said, PG 10	natun yātrīder māl tolā dekhechilām - I saw the lifting of luggages of the new passangers, PG 61 (4x)
Sūryemukhī...nimantrane yāoyā nishedh karilen - S. forbade to go on invitation, BB 21 (2x)	Śaśīke yāite nishedh kariyā dile - he forbade Ś. to go, MP 32
āmi tānite śuru karilām - I started to row, SS 19 (5x)	tini khāoyā śuru karilen - he started to eat, PG 76
se khāite chārila nā - he did not cease to eat, RG 70 (6x)[34]	Ghanādār bayas āndāj karā āmrā chere diyechi - we gave up to guess Ghanādā's age, PG 1 (4x)
nisvās pheliteo yena bhay karite lāgila - I was afraid even to breathe, SS 24 (6x)	jhare tābu uriye niye yāoyār bhay yatheshta - there was enough fear that the tent might fly away in storm, PG 104 (4x)

tor yāite icchā hay - you wish to go, BB 69 (14x)

e-samastai bhuliyā yāite, muchiyā phelite se ekānta ceshṭā karila - she tried her best to forget it all, to wipe it out, RG 79(14x)

āj tāhār temen jor kariyā balite bādhila - he was hampered today to speak with such a force, RG 57

āmār ār bāchte sādh nāi - I have no desire more to live, PA 164

tāhāte parāśunā karite adhik man yāy - from this more inclination towards studying arises, PA 157

pericay debār āmār icche chila nā - I did not wish to introduce myself, PG 25 (5x)

kichu hay ni baliyā hāsibār ceshṭā karilen - he said that nothing had happened and tried to smile, RG 8 (40x)

kono strīlokke premer cokhe dekhā tāhār cirajībaner samskāre bādhite lāgila - he started to be hampered by his whole life's tradition to look at a woman through eyes of love, RG 31

bara bāchibār sādh pieīr - the aunt has much desire to live, MP 31 (2x)

āhār yogāibar man nāi - they have no inclination to procure food, BB 81

I am sure that these quotations show, in a convincing way, that in a high number of cases, imperfective participles are freely interchangeable with verbal nouns.

The same is true of certain idioms in which the time-element is involved. Let us compare the following quotations:

tāhār āsite deri haila - she was late in coming, MP 47 (10x)

Śaśīr bujhite bāki rahila nā - Śaśi was not left without understanding, MP 69 (5x)

tāder pherbār ār baro deri nei - they won't be much late in returning, RG 53

kaleje pās karā yakhan ektāo ār bāki rahila nā - when nothing was left from passing the College, RG 15

In the overwhelming majority of cases, however, imperfective participles are used, whenever it is stated that something takes a certain time or that there is a delay in some action, e.g.:

samastai nihśeshe bhuliyā yāite tāhār katakshan lāge? - how long does it take him to forget everything? SS 31 (5x)

nijeke mukta kariyā laitei prāy das minit kātiyā gela - nearly ten minutes were needed to free myself, SS 64 (6x)

rātri prabhāt haite kichu bilamba āche - the night is a bit late to turn into morning, BB 75 (2x).

3.3.5. Two imperfective participles have been found in our texts which may be considered idiomatic - balte and dekhte (*dekhite). The former is used three times in Premendra's book, in the meaning "called, to call", e.g.:

Sākhālīn dvīpe bara himsra jānovār balte audhu bhāluk chārā ār kichu nei - on the island of Sakhalin, there is no other animal to be called very wild, besides the bear, PG 7

Dekhte (*dekhite) is much more frequent, it was found eleven times in five of our six texts. Its meaning is "to look at", e.g.

dekhite rākshasīr mata haba - I shall look like a demon (lit. to look at I shall be like a she-demon), BB 50

meyeṭi dibya sundar dekhite - the girl is very beautiful (to look at), RG 86

As exactly in the same employ, this imperfective participle is to be found in classical poetry, too, it undoubtedly represents an old phenomenon surviving until modern times.

3.4. The most frequent non-finite verbal form in Bengali is the perfective participle, and our texts, both classical and modern, prove it beyond doubt. Its use, as stated already, is either syntactic or semantic, creating, in the latter case, various verbal compounds. The relative frequency of both these types is presented in the following chart:

	syntactic	semantic	total
Śrikṛshṇakīrtan	864	117	981
Manasā	1385	119	1504
Rāmāyaṇ	846	58	904
Annadā	1192	102	1294
Ālāl	855	347	1202
Bishabṛksha	813	297	1110
Gorā	906	553	1459
Śrīkānta	1183	755	1938
Putulnāc	779	631	1410
Ghanādā	1128	631	1759
	9951	3610	13561

In general, we may say that whereas the frequency of perfective participles in syntactic combinations remains more

or less the same, throughout the centuries, verbal compounds grow in number rather conspicuously, since the beginning of the modern period.

Verbal compounds will be treated separately, in the last chapter of the present study. Let us now concentrate on syntactic functions of this form, in modern texts.

3.4.1. The basic type of the use of the perfective participle is that in which this non-finite replaces finite forms, in combinations of two or more actions following each other in a temporal sequence. Thus in Śaratcandra's Śrīkānta, out of 1183 perfective participles recorded in syntactic functions, 739 (i.e. about 62%) belong to this type, the percentage being more or less the same in other texts, too. It does not matter whether in such cases, the sequence is purely temporal, or whether an element of causality is involved, like in the following example:

āmār bara bon bidhabā haiyā bāritei chilen - my eldest sister was at home, having become a widow (as she had become a widow), SS 79

The element of causality is not particularly strong, in such sentences, and is certainly not stressed by the author. If he wants to stress it, to make it more distinct, he usually adds a xbaliyā, bale after the first part of the sentence, using, in such a case, always a finite form in the immediately preceding action. As stated already, this xbaliyā, bale, to be translated "because", does not appear in classical texts and seems to have arisen in the modern period. One instance will be certainly sufficient:[35]

hindusamājer sañge pūrbajanmer sambandha kāṭāte pāri ni balei to e janme brāhmaṇer ghare janmechi - why, just because I had not been able to cut /my/ ties with Hindu society from previous births, I was reborn now in the house of a brahmin, RG 42

3.4.2. About 30-40% of the recorded perfective participles, used in syntactic combinations, do not express any temporal sequence. The verbal action they speak of is simultaneous with that of the main verb and the relation of the two may be either one of simple parataxis, or of adverbial dependency.

Let us consider the latter first.

3.4.2.1. In a very large number of cases, the action of the main verb of the sentence is expounded, added, determined or explained, in some of its aspects, by a perfective participle of another verb or by an adverbial clause comprising this non-finite form. Let us illustrate it on a few examples:

deyāle ṭhesān diyā ḍhulchen - he swings, leaning against the wall, PA 148

nānābidha kathā kahiyā tāhāke sāntvanā karite lāgila - she started to console her, talking of different things, 9B 6

nije khete upārjan kare khābe - he will earn his money by his own hard work (working himself hard), RG 44

ektā cor chuṭiyā palāitechila - a thief ran away (flew away running), SS 12

lāṭhi ṭhukiyā Yādab path calen - Yadab goes along the way, tapping with/his/ stick, MP 25

nadīte āmrā diṅgi beye du-śa pāc-śa māil ghure beṛivechi - we wandered two or five hundred miles on the river in a boat (steering a boat), PG 22

In such adverbial clauses, the participle *kariyā, kare is very often used; thus in Rabīndranāth's Gorā and Premendra's Ghanādā this word was found in 61 instances, and in Śaratcandra's Śrīkānta even 110 times. This word tends to degenerate into a mere postposition; but it is not always so and often it is difficult to decide whether to take it as a mere postposition:

mit mit kariyā ālo jvalitechē - the light burns flickering, SS 21

ektu ārām kare base - sitting a bit comfortably, PG 19

3.4.2.2. Simple perfective participles, expressing a verbal action simultaneous with that of the main part of the sentence, are rather rare. Still, they can be found in our texts, too. To give exact numbers indicating their frequency is very difficult, because it is, in most cases, rather dubious whether to include them into this category, or into the group of participles used as adverbials; or, even, whether the participle in question should not be considered to express an action preceding that of the main verb, e.g.

hāl dhariyā cup kariyā basiyā rahila - he remained sitting silently, holding the steer, SS 8; hāl dhariyā can be taken either as an independent clause, or as an adverbial clause expounding the main verb (basā), or even as an action preceding that of the main verb ("having got hold of the steer")

sei Tānlini mejher upar lutiye pare asīm yantranāy katrācche -

that very Tanlin cries in unbearable pain, rolling on the floor (or: having rolled down to the floor); PG 12

Anyway, however, if the author wants to make it quite clear that the action of the verb in the perfective participle form is simultaneous to that of the main verb, he does not use a simple participle, but geminates it. The same phenomenon was observed already, when imperfective participles were discussed (3.3.1.2.), as the latter are very often used for the same purpose. Thus we have two different ways of expressing the same idea, and it is necessary to compare them in order to find out whether they are quite identical in meaning. Let us, however, compare their frequency first:

	geminated imperfective participles	geminated perfective participles 36
Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan	1	2
Manasā	5	1
Rāmāyaṇ	5	2
Annadā	8	15
Ālāl	36	12
Bishabṛksha	26	8
Gorā	31	6
Śrīkānta	33	7
Putulnāc	23	11
Ghanādā	22	7
	190	71

With the only exception of Bhāratcandra's Annadāmangal, gemi-

nated imperfective participles clearly prevail in number over perfective ones. But what about the meaning of these two variants?

a) On the one hand, pairs of perfective and imperfective participles can be found, quite identical in meaning, e.g.:

Nagendra mãthã nãriyã hãsite hãsite balilen - N. said with a smile, shaking his head, BB 69	takhan hãsiyã hãsiyã kathã balen - then he speaks with a smile, BB 34

I at least fail to see any difference of meaning between these two sentences.

To express simple simultaneity, especially geminated perfective participles from basã (to sit) and śoyã (to lie) are often used, e.g.:

ei tebile base base pãuruṭi cibocchen - you are chewing bread, sitting at this table, RG 72

bichãnãy śuiyã śuiyã nabhel parãr se ki bhīshan śãsti - what a terrible punishment for reading novels, lying in bed, MP 58

I did not, however, found any basite basite or śuite śuite in my texts, as could be expected with verbs of such a high frequency.

b) On the other hand, certain differences between geminated perfective and imperfective participles can be found, under a closer scrutiny. First of all, geminated perfective participles are preferred, whenever not a mere prolongation, but rather repeatedness of a verbal action is to be expressed, e.g.:

kathā śunite śunite prati muhūrte ŚaśĪ āśā kare - listening to/their/ talk, ŚaśĪ hopes in every moment, MP 29, but:

Thakcācēr kumantranā śuniyā śuniyā tyakte haiyāchi - I got annoyed, having listened (again and again) to T.'s bad advices, PA 202;

cakeher jal phelte phelte āste āste śayan karilen - she slowly lay down, shedding tears, PA 167, but:

tomār bābā ese tān mere phele phele diten - your father used to come, snatch it away/every time/ from me and throw it out, RG 25

c) Yet in other cases, the geminated perfective participle is used to express an action which had been lasting for a prolonged time, but was concluded:

gherer cāridike cāhite cāhite Kumud balila - looking around the room Kumud said, MP 44, but:

tāhār dike kichukshan cāhiyā cāhiyā Binay uthiyā parila - having looked at it for some time, Binay arose, RG 31

From this point of view, also the difference between the two following sentences may perhaps best be explained:

kayekdin jalā-jaṅgale ghure ghure yakhan prāy hatāś haye uthechi - when we became nearly hopeless, after having wandered in marshes and jungles for some days, PG 6

ghurte ghurte tāder ek gāye dāh Hil giye paren - /while/wandering around, Dr. Hill came to one of their villages, PG 87.

d) Finally, the geminated perfective participle is sometimes used in order to stress some prolonged action, to make it appear more pronounced, e. g.:

Hīrā pā ṭipiyā ṭipiyā paścāt gela - Hīrā was following him (walking) on tip-toe, BB 70

cheleṭār sarbāṅge se jaṛāiyā jaṛāiyā byāndej bāṅdhiyāchila - he bandaged the boy, wrapping up and down his whole body, MP 22

Thus we can state that, though tending to interchange rather freely with geminated imperfective participles, geminated perfective participles still retain certain specific fields of application in which they are irreplaceable by the other form.

3.4.2.3. There is yet another, not at all rare, use of the perfective participle to be mentioned - in combinations of two verbs quite or nearly identical in meaning. When the second of the two verbs is a compound maker, it is virtually impossible to decide whether to take this combinations as a verbal compound or not, e.g. cale yāoyā (to go away), śuye paṛā (to lie down), diye deoyā (to give), etc. But even when we leave out these cases, there remains quite a number of other combinations worth considering, e.g.:

se āhbān āmāder kāne āsiyā pauṅchiyāche - this call reached our ears (lit. having come reached), SS.18

apar pāre giyā upasthita hailām - (going) we arrived at the other bank, SS 21

ghare ese dhukechilen - (having come) he entered the room, PG 19

bujhiye balchi dāṅrāo - wait, I shall explain it (say explaining), PG 60

Among other combinations of this kind, the following ones can be quoted: lukiye curiye - concealing, PG 27; baliyā kahiyā and bale kaye - saying, BB 43 and PG 44; bhābiyā cintiyā - having thought over, BB 43; āsiyā hājir haoyā - to come, SS 29, SS 45; pare dekhā - to read through, PG 28; dekhe śune - having learned to know, PA 152, PG 88; jāniyā śuniyā - having learned thoroughly; ũki māriyā dekhā - to peep in, SS 30,etc.

This type of combinations forms a sort of transition to verbal compounds which, owing to their high frequency and complicated character, we are going to discuss separately,in the following chapter.

4. Verbal Compounds

The term verbal compounds is taken over from Animesh K. Pal's article "The Problem of Bengali Verb and Syntax".[37] Most philologists and linguists have treated verbal compounds as a sub-category of compound verbs.[38] There is no doubt that verbal compounds may be considered as a special type of the much larger group of compound verbs. They differ, however, from nominal and adjectival compound verbs (noun or adjective + auxiliary verb), on the one hand, and from combinations of imperfective participles + mode makers, on the other, in so many respects, that it seems better to treat them as a separate category.

Before showing the development tendencies of Bengali verbal compounds, as revealed by their relative frequency in classical and modern texts, it is necessary to discuss which combinations of verbs should be included in this category.

It is not easy to draw the exact border-line between verbal compounds and other combinations of two verbal elements - even if we agree that the first component must always stand in the perfective participle form. As generally known, exactly the same combination of two verbal elements can mean two altogether different things, representing, in one case, a mere connection of two independent and subsequent verbal actions, and forming, in the other, a verbal compound. Thus se āsiyā pariyāche can be analysed as se āsiyāche ebam pariyāche (he came and fell down), or, interpreted as a compound, "he suddenly came". The context is necessary for the right interpretation. These cases, however, are

no serious problem for anyone well acquainted with Bengali; they must be stated in text-books and grammars for foreigners, in order to help the student to avoid ridiculous errors and misunderstandings; but in themselves, they are not difficult to be differentiated from each other. What is, however, far more difficult is the combination of two verbal elements which, for instance in translation into English, seem to form a single semantic unit. E.g. the sentence āmi baitā niye esechi is usually translated "I/have/ brought this book" - the English equivalent for niye āsā being "to bring". If we, therefore, call the combination niye āsā a verbal compound, it seems to be alright, as there is a single semantic unit here, which arose by the combination of two verbal elements, the first of which has the perfective participle form. And yet, the case is far from being so simple. Firstly, I am not at all sure that this combination is felt as one semantic unit by Bengalis themselves, which is, of course, far more important than its interpretation by foreigners. And secondly, yet another significant feature must be considered. Let us take another combination of formally identical elements - e.g. the above mentioned āsiyā paṛā (to come suddenly, unexpectedly, etc,). One mere glance at the two combinations is sufficient to reveal a profound difference between them. Whereas in the former case, the meaning of the second verb (āsā - to come) is fully retained, in the resulting combination, in the latter, there is no trace of the original meaning of the second component (paṛā - to fall), in the compound. In other words, niye āsā can be decomposed as neoyā ebaṃ āsā (to take and then to come, having

taken-to-come), but āsiyā parā is indivisible in such a way (āsiyāche ebam pariyāche would mean something quite different). If we therefore accept niye āsā as a compound verb - and there is no reason why we should not do so - it is obviously necessary to differentiate it from combinations of the type of āsiyā parā, both in classification and in terminology.

Even at this elementary stage, however, certain problems arise. As we shall see later, we can say, for instance, either baliyā gela or baliyā thākila, to express exactly the same idea (Engl. he talked on, he continued talking). The former is undoubtedly a verbal compound; its second part gave up its original meaning (yāoyā - to go) in order to convey the aspect of continuity to the first verb. The latter combination, however, is slightly different, the second verb retaining its original meaning (thākā - to stay, to remain),to such a degree that the whole unit can be decomposed as "talking-he-remained". But even then, there is no doubt that the directing element, within this semantic unit, is no "remaining", but"talking", i.e. that the first verb is the bearer of the main action and the second only modifies its aspect. For this reason, we shall include both the above quoted types into the category of verbal compounds. Logically we must then exclude from it such combinations in which the second verb is the directing element and the first only "explains" it is some way, as an adverbial, e.g. khuliyā balā (to say openly. having-opened-to-say).

It is not easy always to point out, with certainty, the directing element, in such combinations. As the analysis of the

individual compound makers will show, Bengali tends to combine very often semantically closely related or even identical verbs, e.g. chũṛiyā phelā (both chõṛā and phelā meaning "to throw"), caliyā yāoyā (both "to go"), or even diyā deoyā (twice "to give"). We cannot but include these cases among verbal compounds, as far as the second element is a compound maker, to be found in this function in other combinations, too. For this very reason we shall not consider to be verbal compounds such combinations as, for instance, bujhāiyā balā (to explain, explaining-to-say), cāhiyā dekhā (to see, looking-at-to-see), chuṭiyā palāna (to run away, running-to-escape), etc.

To sum up and clarify the criteria for including certain combinations of verbs into the category of verbal compounds, we may state:

1) Each verbal compound represents a single semantic unit.
2) The directing element, in such a compound, is always its first component. This is what helps us to differentiate verbal compounds from combinations of verbs with adverbials or other formally identical constructions. Thus baliyā gela (he talked on) is a verbal compound, whereas khuliyā balila (he said openly) is not.
3) In a compound, the original meaning of the compound maker, i.e. the second component, is suppressed to such a degree that even if this second verb is dropped and its grammatical form transferred to the directing verb, the meaning of the whole sentence remains essentially the same. This is the criterion to differentiate verbal compounds from combinations of two verbal elements, expressing a sequence of

two actions. The context is sometimes necessary to make this differentiation possible, in cases like baliyā uthilā (either: he said suddenly, or: he said and rose up).

4) The directing element stands always in the perfective participle form. This is what serves to differentiate verbal compounds from verbal modes, in which the imperfective participle is used, and from combinations with verbal nouns or adjectives, to express the passive voice. Thus kāj kariyā gelā (he worked on) is a compound, but kāj karite gelā (he was about to work) and kāj karā gelā (the work was done, it was possible to work) are not.

From the point of view of these criteria, the following verbs were found in our texts, used as compound makers: āch-, āsā, othā, calā, tolā, thākā, dārāno, deoyā, dharā, neoyā, laoyā, parā, pherā, phelā, basā, berāno, yāoyā, raoyā /rahā/ and rākhā.

The individual compound makers may be grouped, according to their "meaning", into a few classes. This is the way in which some philologists treat them. Thus S.K.Chatterji, in his standard Saral bhāshā-prakāś Bāṅgālā byākaran[39], divides them into seven groups, Forbes[40] into four, etc. Within each group, all compound makers have essentially the same function which, however, does not mean that they are freely interchangeable with each other. As noted by A.Pal, all compound makers cannot be combined indiscriminately with any verb and it is only a matter of current usage, to which verb a certain compound maker can be attached and which has to employ another one.[41] Though

this statement is undoubtedly right, it requires to be supplemented by a few remarks. First of all, there are certain cases in which several compound makers may be used in connection with the same directing verb, and yet even the shade of meaning is not changed. Thus "he went on talking" may be, and actually was in our texts, found in four variants: baliyā gela, baliyā calila, baliyā thākila and baliyā rahila, and, on the other hand, "he said suddenly", baliyā uṭhila and baliyā basila. I cannot, of course, decide with certainty whether there is any slight difference between the individual variants within each of these two groups. My Bengali informants did not agree one with another, in their replies to this question, but the majority confessed not to feel any difference at all. Thus we are perhaps justified to suppose that in similar cases, the choice of this or that compound maker is purely a matter of stylistics - similarly as the preference given to one out of more existing synonyms. On the other hand, however, combinations of certain compound makers with certain directing verbs are unthinkable, or, at least, do not occur. It is the current usage, as stated above, which is decisive in such cases. But we must remember that "current usage" is a rather vague category, undergoing various changes in time and space - and our materials given below do prove that even in this respect, the use of compound makers is different in various periods of the development of the Bengali language. Thus we must keep in mind these two factors - the historical development as well as individual stylistics variants, not to speak of dialectical differences, not included in the present investigation. We

shall have ample opportunity to refer to these aspects, during the more detailed analysis of the individual compound makers.

A proper classification of the compound makers is no easy task. Excepting those verbs, which convey the meaning of continuity or repeatedness of the verbal action, all compound makers, as will be shown below, may add more than one unambiguous aspect to the directing verb. For this reason, I consider it more suitable to divide the compound makers into two large groups only, the first consisting of those which - apart from other functions - share the role of an intensifier of the action of the main verb, and the second comprising all compound makers which convey the meaning of continuity or repeatedness:

I. ṭhā, parā, basā, phelā, tolā, deyā, neyā /laeyā/, yāeyā$_1$, āsā$_1$, and dāṛāno

II. thākā, āch-, raeyā /rahā/, rākhā, dharā, calā, yāeyā$_2$, āsā$_2$, berāno, and pherā

On the following page, the frequency of all these compound makers in our ten texts is given, without any differentiation of the two meanings of yāeyā and āsā.

Let us now treat one compound maker after the other, in the sequence given above.

I.1. ṭhā - basic meaning: to rise - 325 instances

This verb belongs to the most frequently used compound makers in modern Bengali. Eleven instances found in classical poetry prove that its origin is to be looked for in older periods.

	Śrīkṛṣṇa	Manasā	Rāmāyaṇ	Annadā	Ālāl	Bishabṛkṣha	Gorā	Śrīkānta	Putulnāc	Ghanādā	totals
othā	-	10	1	-	47	14	82	70	32	69	325
parā	-	9	3	1	25	13	31	53	27	47	209
basā	-	-	-	1	9	3	4	7	3	7	34
phelā	2	-	4	2	10	9	15	40	24	15	121
tolā	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	4	4	5	30
deoyā	21	34	9	20	50	62	81	120	103	88	588
neoyā	20	10	4	7	12	18	30	43	23	36	203
yāoyā	42	15	12	21	68	55	122	182	214	199	930
āsā	-	2	2	4	8	17	24	55	48	41	201
dārāno	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	8
thākā	6	1	3	3	46	14	38	28	42	29	210
āch-	1	4	6	4	23	14	14	33	31	28	158
raoyā	4	3	3	5	9	23	14	28	8	4	101
rākhā	1	3	1	2	5	9	17	21	19	7	85
dharā	1	-	1	-	2	2	5	7	5	10	33
calā	1	-	1	-	-	-	17	6	3	3	31
berāno	-	3	1	4	16	4	7	5	5	10	55
pherā	-	1	-	3	2	-	1	2	-	-	9
	99	95	51	77	332	257	523	707	591	599	3331

The original meaning of ṭhā is strong enough to make itself felt in many compounds, both in classical Bengali and in the modern language; sometimes it may even give rise to doubts whether to consider these combinations as compounds at all. Thus we have, in classical poetry:

bhāsiyā uṭhe śāṅkh - the shell flows up, BM III.17.13

Manasār bare jiyā uṭhila Husen - Husen was revived by the mercy of Manasā, BM V.7.54

The former bhāsiyā uṭhe may be decomposed as "the shell rose (to the surface of the sea) by flowing", and the latter jiyā uṭhila as "Husen regained his life and rose up". Especially in the latter case, however, it is the regaining of life and not any rising, which plays the most important role in the statement; for this reason, it seems more correct to include even these cases into compounds.

The remaining cases are more obvious instances of compounds, with the prevailing aspect of the suddenness of the verbal action involved, e.g.:

mahākope garjiyā uṭhila dambha kari - in great anger, he roared arrogantly, BM IV.1.40

jvaliyā uṭhila agni - the fire flared up, KR 130.1.34

nimikhe cupri bhari uṭhila satvar - in an instance, the basket was filled up quickly /sic!/, BM IV.14.82

It is especially this last sentence which shows the stress put on the suddenness of the verbal action, in an apparent way.

There is, however, one case to be mentioned, from the classical poetry, in which no suddenness is involved:

nibārite nāri cita jvali uṭhe abirata - I cannot restrain my mind, incessantly it burns, BM V.3.18

The intensity of the verbal action seems to be expressed by the compound maker oṭhā here.

In modern texts, the use of oṭhā is more varied. Here, too, the original meaning (to rise up) is retained, but only in about 10% of all recorded cases, e.g.:

ātke oṭhā, to spring up in fear (PG 19, PG 81), gāchpālā gajiye uṭhe, twigs on trees sprout up (PA 202), sakalke chārāiyā uṭhiyāche, he outgrew everybody (RG 15, RG 43), jāgiyā uṭhila, he woke up (RG 15, RG 66, RG 82, PG 69, PG 110), sere oṭhā, to recover (MP 31), etc.

Logically enough, oṭhā tends to combine especially with verbs expressing a change first of all if it is a change for the better, "upwards", as in the following cases:

Sendidir sarbāṅge brangulī pākiyā uṭhite uṭhite - during the time when the sores on the whole body of Sendidi were becoming ripe, MP 43 (also PA 165, PA 181)

se ekjan mastā baktā haiyā uṭhibe - he will become a great orator, RG 12

Ghanādār mukh...ujjval haye uṭhla - Ghanādā's face brightened up, PG 56

In the overwhelming majority on the recorded instances, however, it is simply any change, even expressly for the worse, which uses compounds with oṭhā. For this reason, we find it so frequently (in 133 instances, in our texts) combined with verbs formed with the auxiliary haoyā (to become), e.g.

mane mane lajjita haiyā uṭhilā - he got ashamed in his mind, RG 49

bhaye ekebāre jarjar haiyā uṭhilā - out of fear, he shrinked altogether, SS 44

Kalkātā prāy Bhenis haye uṭhechē - Calcutta was almost turned into Venice, PG 35

In many of these cases, the change in question is a sudden, or even an unexpected one. But on the other hand, no few examples can be quoted, in which no suddenness is involved, e.g.:

Hārur paralok-gaman...etakshane śocanīya haiyā uṭhitechē - Hāru's decease is all the time becoming more and more regrettable, MP 7

In such cases, oṭhā simply helps to intensify the idea of change included in the sentence.

The element of suddenness is, however, very strong in a large number of other compounds. A sudden start of any action can be expressed in this way. In about 70 sentences, oṭhā was found in combinations with verbs of sound, to convey the meaning of an unexpected sound or a sudden or loud beginning of speech, laugh, weeping, singing, etc.:

Satīś Binaykē bārāndāy dekhitē pāiyāi hāttāli diyā 'Binaybābu' baliyā cītkār kariyā uṭhilā - as soon as Satīś saw Binay on the verandah, he clapped his hands and shouted: 'Binaybābu!', RG 48

Indra ho ho kariyā hāsiyā uṭhilā - Indra burst out laughing, SS 14

In these cases, in which the meaning of a sudden action is to be conveyed, we find sometimes even surprising combinat-

ions with ṭhā proving that the original meaning of this compound maker may get completely lost, e.g.:

bābā odiker dāoyāy ese basechen; ghumiye uthlen - father is sitting there at the porch; he has fallen asleep, MP 73

2. paṛā - basic meaning: to fall - 209 instances

Though being the very opposite of ṭhā, in its basic meaning, paṛā is used in compounds to convey essentially the same aspects to the main verb.

Like the former compound maker, it retains, in the majority of the 13 instances recorded in classical poetry, its original meaning and prefers to combine with such verbs which are semantically related to it. Thus we find it in khasiyā paṛā (to fall off) and ḍhaliyā paṛā (to droop down, seven times in Manasābijay). In two cases, however, the idea of suddenness is conveyed:

ḍhāiyā parila giyā sabhār mājhete - running he went to the assembly, BM IV.23.73

ke jāne paṛibe āsi pramād kakhan - who knows when a calamity will come, KR 89.1.12

The original meaning of falling, or at least of a downward movement, is retained in more than a third of all compounds with paṛā found in modern texts, too. The most frequent combinations are śuiyā paṛā (to lie down, 10 times), basiyā paṛā (to sit down, 10), bhāṅgiyā paṛā (to break down, 6) lāphāiyā paṛā (to leap, 8), jhariyā paṛā (to fall off, 8), etc.

Not so frequently like ṭhā, we find paṛā combined with various verbs formed from nouns or adjectives + haoyā, to express a change. The tendency to use this compound maker espe-

cially in those cases, in which a change towards the worse, "downwards", is to be expressed, is not particularly strong:

tār par garib haiyā parileo - then, though he got poor, MP 28

uttar śuniyā Indra yeman saṅkucita kuṇṭhita haiyā parila - when he heard the reply, Indra became as if uneasy and embarassed, SS 74

In the majority of the recorded cases, parā is used to convey that something happened suddenly or unexpectedly. It is especially the compound uṭhe parā, with its peculiar combination of two oppositional verbs, which is worth mentioning:

birasbhābe ekṭu hese tini haṭhāt uṭhe parlen - having smiled a bit sadly, he suddenly rose up, PG 58

āj tarka uṭhiyā parāte se kshunna haiyā pariyāchila - she got annoyed, when the quarrel broke out (suddenly) today, RG 73

While oṭhā is preferred to be connected with verbs of sound, parā tends to combine with those expressing going and coming. Thus we found 19 instances of āsiyā parā, to come suddenly, 13 instances of beriye or bāhir haiyā parā, to go out (at once), 11 instances of giyā parā, to arrive (suddenly), etc.:

Hārur maraṇer saṃśrabe akasmāt āsiyā pariyā - having suddenly come into contact with Hāru's death, MP 4

Tānliner khōje beriye parlām - we at once went out to look for Tanlin, PG 6

tāder ek gāye dāḥ Hil giye paren - Dr.Hill arrived to one of their villages, PG 87

In some of these compounds, however, the two components should be reversed (pariyā āsā, instead of āsiyā parā, and pariyā yāoyā, instead of giyā parā), e.g.:

hathāt tīrer jhop theke ektā pokā thik āmār koler oper ese parla - suddenly, an insect fell straight on my lap, from a bush on the bank, PG 31

se ceshtā karis ne, jale give parbi - don't try it, you will fall into water, SS 92

On the other hand, there are a few cases, in which compounds with parā lack any element of suddenness; mere intensification of the verbal action seems to be the only reason why parā is used here, e.g.:

tār nām anek beśī cheriye parta - his name (i.e.fame) would have spread much more, PG 31

mā yakhen mane kono kashta pān takhan śilpakāj laiyā paren - whenever mother feels distressed, she takes up sewing, RG 30

3. basā - basic meaning: to sit - 34 instances

This verb seems to be unknown, as a compound maker, in older periods; the only instance recorded in our texts is from Bhāratcandra's Annadāmaṅgal, thus indicating the late origin of the use of basā in compounds:

nija mūrti dhara, basa Annapūrnā haya - take on your own form, become Annapūrnā, BA 77.18

It is rather difficult to conclude, from this isolated instance, in exactly what sense basā is used here. In modern texts, however, its meaning becomes clearer.

First of all, we find it in a large number of compounds, to express the idea of suddenness or unexpectedness:

hathāt kichu kariyā basibār lok se nay - he is not a man to do anything all of a sudden (e.i. without premeditation), MP 75

hathāt hese uthe sojāsuji jijñes kare basla - suddenly having smiled, he asked directly, PG 64

Haridāsī ... hathāt Debendrabābu haiyā basila - Haridāsī suddenly became (i.e. changed into) Debendrabābu, BB 53

kumīr mārte giye prāy āmākei mere basechilen - going to kill a crocodile, he almost killed myself, PG 86

Most frequently basā appears in combinations with karā, to do (as quoted above), and balā, to say, e.g.:

sahasā Indra sei kathāi baliyā basila - Indra suddenly said this very thing, SS 90

Though in this quotation, the element of suddenness is expressed in an obvious way, it seems to be lacking, in some other cases, e.g.:

bibāher kathā upasthita haile loke amni bale base - when the subject of wedding arises, people talk like this, PA 186

se pher Śaśīr nindā kariyā base - again he speaks ill of Śaśī, MP 66

sei kāgajpatrer jore ami anektā nirbhaye Bharanaph seje baslām with the help of these papers, I impersonated Voronoff almost without fear, PG 25

Again a larger number of instances would be necessary to enable us to draw more definite conclusions about the exact

meaning of basā in these compounds; it seems, however, to stress and intensify the verbal actions in question.

Before proceeding to deal with further compound makers, let us sum up the results of the analysis of ṭhā, parā and basā:

a) Both ṭhā and parā frequently appear in compounds, the meaning of which, derived from the main verb, is in some way related to the basic meaning of these compound makers.
b) In these cases, as well as a number of others, both these compound makers and basā serve to intensify and stress the verbal action.
c) Most frequently, all of these three compound makers convey the sudden start of respective verbal action.
d) By ṭhā and parā, a change is stressed, especially a sudden and unexpected one.

An exact delimitation of the application of each of these three compound makers is hardly possible. In a comparatively large number of cases, they interchange with each other, without any obvious difference in meaning, e.g.:

ṭhā	parā
mānusher galāy kādiyā uthila he started weeping in a human voice, SS 14	ekbār giyā kādiyā parilei - if she goes and starts weeping, MP 17
se yena hāpāiyā uthila - as if he were out of breath, MP 15	hāpiye parechen bujhi - you have gone out of breath, haven't you? RG 54

seijanya se byasta haiyā uṭhila - therefore he got worried, RG 49

ektu byasta haiyā pariyāche - they got a bit worried, MP 28

oṭhā

tatkshanāt baliyā uṭhila - he said at once, SS 58

basā

asaṅkoce baliyā basila - he said without hesitation, SS 59

paṛā

sibhil sārjen āsiyā paṛār āge - before the Civil Surgeon came, MP 58

basā

yadi gandhe ese basen - if he comes, attracted by the odour, PG 97

oṭhā

dalapati haiyā uṭhila - he became a leader, RG 38

paṛā

bhaba-ghure haiyā parilām - I became a vagrant, SS 2

basā

śikshak haiyā basen - he becomes a teacher, PA 195

4. phelā - basic meaning: to cast - 121 instances

Eight instances of the use of phelā, as the second component of a compound, were found in our classical texts, but in all of them, this compound maker is combined with verbs indicating casting, throwing etc.: khasāiyā phelā - to throw away, to put off/2/, chiriyā phelā - to tear to pieces (and then throw away)/2/, muchiyā phelā - to wipe away /2/, āchāriyā phelā - to throw down /1/, charāiyā phelā - to throw about /1/. Thus it would seem better not to include this verb among compound makers at all. In modern texts, however, it appears in

a very large number of instances without leaving any doubt about its compound-making ability.

Most frequently, the aspect of suddenness results from the combination of a verb with phelā, e.g.:

tār hāt duṭo byākulbhābe dhare phele - having seized both his hands anxiously, PG 26-7

pisimā ta bhaye kādiyā-i phelilen - in fear, aunt even burst into tears, SS 13-4

Lachamiyā jal āniyā ditei Binay ḍhak ḍhak kariyā khāiyā phelila - as soon as Lachamiyā brought water, Binay drank it up (eagerly), RG 51

In most of the recorded instances, not only an element of suddenness, but also of completion of the verbal action is feasible; this is why S.K.Chatterji has included this compound maker, in his Bengali grammar for schools, among pūrṇatābodhak[42]. Thus māriyā phelā means "to kill", as opposed to the simple mārā, to beat. Not always, however, are the verbal actions comprised in compounds with phelā either completed or sudden (or both, as is so often the case). The following instance proves it in a convincing way:

ami spashṭai dekhte pācchi, tumi nijeke durbal kare phelcha - I can see clearly that you are enfeebling yourself, RG 17

In this particular case, as well as in some similar ones, the compound maker phelā seems to intensify and stress the verbal action.

5. tolā - basic meaning: to lift - 30 instances

Rather few compounds with tolā were found in our modern texts, and not a single one in our classical poetry. According to S.K. Chatterji[43] and A.Pal[44], this compound maker conveys the meaning of the completion of a verbal action. The majority of instances found in our texts agree with this characteristics. But there are some in which no completion of the verbal action can be stated:

e pokā yekhāne pāben, jānben Jyākab sekhānei tār caram śaytānī sharayantra pākiye tulche - where you will find this insect, there, you will know, is Jacob preparing his devilish conspiracy, PG 30

tumi kāke kahepiye tulcha jāno - know whom you are provoking! PG 30

These cases - as well as many further ones - indicate yet another possibility of interpreting compounds with tolā. The key to their right interpretation is, to my opinion, to be looked for in the fact, that these transitive compounds have an eye-striking number of intransitive counterparts in compounds with othā. Thus we have:

jamlīder tārā jāgiye tulechе - they aroused the savaes, PG 88

camkiyā jāgiyā uthiyā - having awaked in fright, RG 15

mahāmārī kānda bādhāiye tolāy - when the struggle was started, SS 14

tarka bādhiyā uthila - a controversy started, RG 88

bedanāke bārāiyā tuliyāchila he made his pain grow, RG 87

premer beg bārāiyā uthe - the swiftness of love grows, RG 87

Binayke..uttejita kariyā tulila - it made B.excited, RG 63

tāte uttejita haye utheche - he got excited over it, PG 70

jīban asahya kariyā tolā - to make/his/ life unbearable, RG 38

nitāntai asahya haiyā uthila - it became quite unbearable, RG 80

Apart from these instances, we have ujjval kariyā tolā and ujjval haiyā othā (to illuminate and to shine), jamā kariyā tolā and jamiyā othā (to accumulate and to get accumulated), dīpta kariyā tolā and pradīpta (or uddīpta) haiyā othā (to illuminate and to shine), spashta kariyā tolā and spashta haiyā othā (to make and to become clear), asthir kariyā tolā and asthir haiyā othā (to make and to become uneasy), kshubdha kariyā tolā and kshubdha haiyā othā (to make and to become angry), gariyā tolā and gariyā othā (to make and to get made), jar kariyā tolā and jarsar haiyā othā (to frighten and to get frightened), bara kariyā tolā and bara haiyā othā (to make and to become great), pākāiyā tolā and pākiyā othā (to make ripe and to become ripe).

The number as well as the character of these pairs makes it obvious that tolā has the same function, in compounds with transitive verbs, as othā with intransitive ones. And we really do find, among our excerpts, compounds with tolā indicating an upward movement, a change (especially a sudden one) and an intesification of the verbal action, e.g.:

Ghanādāke ektu tātiye tulte pārā gela nā - it was impossible to incite Ghanādā a bit, PG 35

nijeder hĪn karei tulbe – we shall make ourselves weak, RG 34
tāhāke āhata kariyā tulila – it hurt him, RG 40

6. deoyā – basic meaning: to give – 588 instances

In general, deoyā seems to be the least problematic compound maker. All grammarians agree that its primary aim is to express that the action of the verb it is combined with is directed towards the object, that something is being done or happens in someone else's favour. Being a transitive verb in its original meaning, deoyā is usually combined with transitive vebs, in compounds. Worth noting is its very frequent connection with causative verbs (212 instances, in our texts, i.e. nearly 40%).

The most frequent compounds, as found in our texts (with numbers of instances in brackets):

pheliyā deoyā – to throw out, to throw away (35):

tini hāter noyā jele pheliyā dilen – she threw (her) wristlet into water, SS 75

ekṭi buṭer ṭhokkare ekebāre gāṛir bāire phele deba – I shall throw (you) out of the train by a single kick of (my) boots, PG 61

chāṛiye deoyā – to give up, to let go (35):

tomāke chāṛiyā dite pāri nā – I cannot let you go, BB 52

tomār pūrbapurushder kathā chere dāo – stop (give up) talking of your forefathers, RG 25

pāṭhāiyā deoyā – to send (29):

didi amake paṭhiye diyeche – sister has sent me, RG 12

āniyā deoyā - to bring for somebody (29):

bāhirer ālo-bātās āniyā dila - he brought /in/ light and air from outside, MP 15

baliyā deoyā - to tell (22):

tā āmi toke bale dilum - I told you so, RG 26

tuliyā (to lift, to abolish, 16), khuliyā (to open, 13), bujhāiyā (to explain, 13), rākhiyā (to keep, to hide, 13), dekhāiyā (to show, 11), urāiyā (to let fly, to waste, 10), phirāiyā (to return, to give back, 9), karāiyā (to let do, 8), khāoyāiyā (to feed, 8), paũchiyā or paũchāiyā (to escort, 7), jiyāiyā (to enliven, only in classical texts, 6), nāmāiyā (to bring down, to lower, 6), dhariyā (to hold, 6), likhiyā (to write to somebody, 6), dharāiyā (to cause to catch, to kindle, 6), etc.

The use of deoyā as a compound maker is very old, as testified to by 21 instances found in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan. Its meaning here does not differ in any way from that to be stated in modern texts.

As deoyā, in most cases, helps to intensify the transitivity of the main verb it is combined with, it is not surprising to find it so frequently - in 98 cases altogether, in our texts - attached to verbs formed with the auxiliary karā, e.g. nishedh karā (to forbid), bidāy karā (to dismiss), śuru or ārambha karā (to begin), etc.

On the other hand, however, there are several cases in which deoyā cannot be explained in the above mentioned way. Thus certainly no "direction" of the verbal action is involved in such sentences like, for instance:

sārāṭā dupur ghumāiyā kāṭāiyā dila - he spent the whole afternoon by sleeping, MP 56

bandaṛṭike se maner madhye rekhe dey - he keeps that harbour in (his) mind, GR 32

These quotations indicate that, in some cases, deoyā tends simply to intesify the action of the main verb. A.Pal, in his quoted study, speaks of "an accomplished stage of action",[45] but my excerpts reveal rather an intensification of the verbal action. This meaning seems to explain best also the peculiar combination diyā deoyā (to give) found three times in our texts, e.g.:

grāmbāsīrā lāṭhi hāte dāṛāiyā Bindur saṅge Nandalāler bibāha diyā dila - villagers, with sticks in hands, made Nandalāl marry Bindu, MP 13

Deoyā is one of those compound makers which appear also in compounds composed of three parts; but we shall treat these cases separately, later on.

7. neoyā (laoyā) - basic meaning: to take - 203 instances

In its basic meaning, neoyā represents the very opposite of deoyā, and does so also in compounds. It is used to convey the direction of the action of the main verb towards the subject, or in favour of the speaker. It is usually combined with transitive verbs, not seldom with causative ones.

As the previous compound maker, laoyā is not at all rare in classical poetry, especially in Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan and Manasābijay. Its meaning does not differ here, in any way, from that to be traced in modern texts, e.g.:

sab ābharan mor kāṛhi nilem bale - he took by force all my jewelry, CS III.106.5 (and 9 further instances)

sei matsya jāliyā dhariyā labe jāle - fishermen will catch this fish in (their) net, BA 49.21

The most frequent combinations of neoyā:

ṭāniyā neoyā - to attract, to draw (27):

āste āste Gorār kāche tāhār cauki ṭāniyā laiyā - having drawn his chair slowly towards Gorā, RG 70

tuliyā neoyā - to lift, to raise (23):

Hāruke se āpanār jagate tuliyā laiyāchila - he raised Haru to his own world, MP 7

kāṛiyā neoyā - to snatch away, to take by force (17)

ḍākiyā neoyā - to call (7):

isārā kariyā māther dike āmāke ḍākiya laiyā - having called me to the field by a nod, SS 78

dhariyā neoyā - to hold, to accept (7):

kulirāo tā satyi bale dhare niyeche - the coolies, too, have accepted it as true, PG 69

hariyā laoyā - to carry away, to steal (only in classical texts, 6):

sakal amṛta tārā laila hariyā - they carried away all the nectar, BM II.15.8

sāmle neoyā - to restrain oneself (6):

nijeke sāmle niyo - restrain yourself! RG 21

cāhiyā neoyā - to look at, to ask for (and obtain)(5):

Sucaritār mukher dike cāhiyā laila - he looked at the face of Sucaritā, RG 68

tār kāche sigāret ceye niye - having asked him for a cigarette (and obtained it), PG 2. etc.

As with deoyā, the connection of neoyā with transitive verbs is fully logical - but not exclusive. I have found at least one intransitive verb, combined with this compound maker in two instances: hāsā - to laugh:

prathame se khub khānikṭā hāsiyā laila - at first, he laughed for himself very much, for a while, SS 45

prāṇbhare nijer mane ek coṭ hese nilām - I laughed in my heart to my satisfaction, PG 68

In both these cases, the only aim of using neoyā is to express that the subject of the sentence laughed for himself, "in favour of his own".

If we compare deoyā with neoyā, we can state that these two compound makers undoubtedly form an oppositional pair. Their mutual opposition, expressing "doing something for another's sake", on the one hand, and "doing something for one's own sake", on the other, may be illustrated by the following quotations from our texts:

keha tāhār cokhe mukhe hāt bulāiyā dey - someone rubs his (i.e. the uncle's) eyes and face, SS 12

tāhāke dharādhari kariyā nāmāiyā dila - he lowered him down, supporting him, RG 8

nijer gardāntāy ekbār hāt buliye niye balle - he said, having once rubbed his own neck, PG 43

Gopāler tīkshna apalak drshṭipāte se cokh nāmāiyā laila - under Gopal's sharp, steadfast look, he lowered his eyes, MP 33

uhār lyāj kāṭiyā dāo - cut his tail off! SS 15

tāhār kharer lyāj kāṭiyā laiyā - having cut off (and taken) his tail of straw, SS 15

8. yāoyā - basic meaning: to go - 930 instances

Both in classical texts and in the modern language, yāoyā is the most frequented compound maker. At the same time, however, it is the most problematic one. We find it in compounds of very different nature. In general we can divide its use into three main categories:

a) to combine with verbs of basically the same meaning, i.e. verbs of movement,

b) to convey the meaning of the completion of the verbal action,

c) to express the continuity of the verbal action.

The respective figures for these three categories, in our texts:

	classical	modern	total
a)	35	244	279
b)	54	564	620
c)	1	40	41
	90	848	930

The instances of the third category will be dealt with along with other compound makers expressing the continuity of the verbal action.

As for the first category, there is little to be said about these compounds, if they can be considered compounds at all. They are neither perfective nor continuous by themselves,

the aspect depending on the verbal form of the compound maker. The most usual combinations are caliyā yāoyā - to go (87), bāhir haiyā or beriye yāoyā - to go out (32), phiriyā yāoyā - to return (25), nāmiyā yāoyā - to descend (19), bhāsiyā yāoyā - to float (11), etc.

We shall now concentrate on our second category, in which yāoyā is used to convey the meaning of the completion of the verbal action. As seen from the above given survey, this is the most usual way of using this compound maker. Let us quote a few instances:

cheler upar Gopāl kshepiyā giyāche - Gopal got angry with his son, MP 62 (and further 5 instances)

eman anek ghaṭanā ghaṭiyā giyāche - many events like this happened, SS 30

Hīrā itipūrbe...jāniyā giyāchila - Hīrā had learned to know before, BB 57 (and further 2 instances)

hāoyā theme geche - the wind stopped, PG 65 (and 4 cases more)

dharā paṛiyā gela - he was caught, RG 49

toke nā dekhte pele o mare yābe - he will die if he does not see you, RG 24 (28 times)

tāhār mukh biberṇa haiyā giyāche - his face turned pale, RG 62-3 (altogether 201 compounds like this)

Unlike some of the previously discussed compound makers, yāoyā does not express any sudden action or change, which can be proved by quotations like the following ones:

krame krame ghuciyā gela - it slowly ceased, PA 182

Śaśīr pasār kayek dinei bāṛiyā giyāche - Śaśī's clientele grew up during a few days, MP 65

Worth special attention are those rather numerous cases in which yāoyā turns an active verb, in perfective participle form, into a passive one. Thus ṭhākā means "to cover", but ṭhākiyā gela (MP 29, PG 21), "it was covered". Many instances of this kind were found in our texts, e.g.

cāridik gārḥ andhakāre chāiyā giyāche - everything (lit. all four sides) was covered by deep darkness (SS 9)

tāhār samasta saṃkoc ekebāre kāṭiyā gela - all his uneasiness disappeared (lit. was cut off), RG 56

āmāder pāyer bādhan chiṛiyā gela - ties on our legs were torn, PA 161

nirmal raudre Kalikātār ākāś bhariyā giyāche - Calcutta's sky was filled with pure sunshine, RG 7, etc.

Verbs used in such compounds are obviously neither active nor passive by themselves and need yāoyā, whenever their passive character is to be made clear.

9. āsā - basic meaning: to come - 201 instances

When considering our previous experiences with pairs like ṭhā - parā, phelā - tolā or deoyā - neoyā, it is not surprising to see that āsā, which is a pair-verb of yāoyā, fulfils basically the same functions in compounds as the latter. It means that we can follow its various meanings along the same lines as we did in the case of yāoyā, i.e.divided into three groups as stated on the p.9. Let us compare, first of all, the relative frequency of āsā in those three categories:

	classical	modern	total
a)	6	134	140
b)	2	45	47
c)	-	14	14
	8	193	201

Again we shall reserve the third group for a later discussion.

Among compounds in which āsā is combined with verbs expressing movement, the most frequent ones are phiriyā āsā - to come back (42), chuṭiyā āsā - to come running (13), nāmiyā āsā - to come down (12), caliyā āsā - to come (9), beriye or bāhir haiyā āsā - to come out (16), etc.

In a relatively large number of cases, āsā is used to form a compound indicating a verbal action which was concluded, e.g.:

tār par uṭhiyā āsiyā tinjane Gaṅgāsnān karilām - then we rose up and took a bath in Ganges, SS 75

kathā śesh haiyā āsila - the discussion came to an end, MP 30

Actions expressed by compounds with āsā are very often - though not always - slow and gradual:

śrābaṇer megh ghanāiyā āsilā - clouds of śrāben approached, RG 74

du bacher jel kāṭiyā āsiyāche - he spent two years in a jail, MP 23

ḍobā śukāiyā āsile - after ponds have dried up, MP 74

In a few sentences, we even find āsā to express an action which has not yet finished, but is nearing its end:

masāltā prāy takhan śesh haye eseche - the torch has almost gone out then, PG 93

sigāret kes prāy khāli haye eseche - the cigarette-case has gone almost empty, PG 35

As observed by A.Pal, āsā can sometimes also "suggest a habit"[46]. At least one instance found in our texts proves it to be true:

māse ekbār keriyā...adhibeśan haiyā āsiyāche - once in a month, a meeting took place, RG 15

Anyway, however, the instances comprised in our texts show that there does not exist any strict delimitation of the use of yāoyā, on the one hand, and āsā, on the other. Thus we have, e.g.

gopo peke giyāche - his moustache, too, has grown white (lit. ripened), PA 201

ḍāktārbābu bale gelen - the Doctor said, RG 10

mukh mlān haiyā gela - (his) face turned white, MP 22

sab ābār sahaj haye gela - everything became easy again, PG 9

bicchede bābur bhālabāsā peke āsbe - bābu's love will ripen in separation, BB 67

Parān bikele giye bale ela - in the afternoon, Parān went (there) and said, MP 18

tār mukh takhan beś phyākāśe haye eseche - his face turned rather white, PG 68

kathābārtā sahaj haiyā āsila - the conversation became easy, RG 53

Apart from these verbs, A.Pal gives also ānā (to bring)[47] as a compound maker suggesting the completion of a verbal action. In our texts, however, apart from 47 cases in which ānā retains fully its basic meaning (nāmāiyā ānā - to bring down, ākarshan kariyā ānā - to attract, ṭāniyā ānā - to drag here, etc.), only one single instance was found in which this verb is used as a proper compound maker:

halader ābhā tāhāke ektuo snigdha kariyā āne nāi - the yellow tinge did not at all soften it (i.e. his complexion), RG 15

This is undoubtedly too litle to enable us to include ānā among our compound makers.

Doubts may arise also as far as pāoyā (to obtain), is concerned. In a number of combinations with various perfective participles, it behaves like a compound maker, e.g. khũjiyā pāoyā (to find), ḍākiyā pāoyā (to reach the person of one's calling), and especially the rather frequent bhābiyā pāoyā, e.g.: seṭā ṭhik áishṭācār haibe ki nā bhābiyā nā pāiyā - being unable to decide whether it would be decent or not, RG 11

In all these cases, however, under a closer scrutiny, the original meaning of pāoyā is found retained. Thus we can undoubtedly interpret khũjiyā pāoyā as "to obtain by looking for", and bhābiyā pāoyā as "to obtain by thinking". For this reason, I exclude this verb from the category of compound makers, too.

On the other hand, however, there is another verb which at least some of our excerpts prove to be a true compound maker:

10. dā̃rāno - basic meaning: to stand - 10 instances

In 6 cases, it retains it original meaning (phiriyā dā̃rāno - to turn around, nāmiyā dā̃rāno - to descend and stand still, etc.). In combinations with haoyā (to become), however, this verb behaves exactly like other compound makers, expressing the result of a change:

eder kāche manda haye dā̃rābei - you will appear as a bad man in their eyes, RG 17

haṭhāt khub śuci haye dā̃riyechen - he all at once became very pure (i.e. orthodox), RG 25

dekhite dekhite 'bandhu' prabhu haye dā̃rān - in an instant, a 'friend' is turned into a master, SS 70

mānusher śatrui haye dā̃riyeche - he became a misanthrope, PG 28

It is quite possible that dā̃rāno can play the role of a compound maker only in combinations with haoyā. Our excerpts are too few to enable us to draw a definite conclusion, in this respect.

II.11. thākā - basic meaning: to remain - 210 instances

12. āch- - basic meaning: to be - 158 instances

13. raoyā /rahā/ - basic meaning: to remain - 101 instances

All these three compound makers can be discussed together, as there is no difference in their meaning both in classical poetry and in modern texts. All of them express the continuity of the verbal action and form compounds with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

In classical poetry, there is practically no difference

even in their relative frequency; thākā was recorded in 13 compounds, āch- and rahā in 15 instances each. Their mutual interchangeability may be illustrated by their combinations with lukāno - to hide:

kshīrod bhitare debī thākila lukāyyā - the goddess remained hidden in the sea of milk, BM II.12.27

nāgabhaye munibar gela pālāiyā, samudre śaṅkher garbhe āche lukāiyā - the saint fled in fear of serpents. he remains hidden in a shell in the sea, BM III.15.36

pushper bhitare rahe Manasā lukāiyā - Manasa remains hidden inside a flower, BM I.20.54

It is worth noting that all of these three variants were found in the same text.

Though thākā is preferred to the other two compound makers of the same meaning, in modern texts, all the three seem to be used with any verb indiscriminately. We can illustrate it by compounds with cup karā - to be silent:

ektu cup kare theke ābār ballen - having kept silent for a while, he said again, PG 5

āmi etakshan prāy cup kariyāi chilām - all this time, I was almost keeping silent, SS 76

Gorā cup kariyā rahila - Gorā kept silent, RG 35

There are, however, apparent differences in tenses in which these three compound makers are to be found, in our texts; but they are quite natural, considering that āch- has only the simple present and the simple preterite forms and even rahā is, in modern Bengali, seldom used in other than simple preterite and present perfective forms.

14. rākhā - basic meaning: to keep - 85 instances

15. dharā - basic meaning: to hold - 33 instances

Used only with transitive verbs, rākhā and dharā express the continuity of the verbal action, the former being, however, much more expressive in this respect.

In classical texts, we find rākhā in 7 cases altogether, e.g.:

potali bāndhiā̃ rākha nahulī yauban - keep your new youth bound in a bundle, CS III.33.4

lukāiyā rākhe yatne ijār bhitar - he keeps it hidden carefully in (his) trousers, BM IV.16.60

Dharā is even much rarer in classical poetry; out of two cases found in our texts, one is quite interesting:

bale dhari toke - I keep to tell you(?), CS III.11.16

It is the compound maker rākhā which is used in the same meaning, in connection with baliyā, in modern texts, e.g.:

se āmi sabāike bale rākhchi - I keep telling everybody, RG 26

In the modern language, dharā seems to be reserved for those compounds only in which it can fully retain its basic meaning of holding, seizing and catching. We find it in jarāiyā dharā - to embrace, ā̃kre dharā - to grip (and hold), kāmrāiya dharā - to bite and hold, ṭipiyā dharā - to squeeze, etc.

It is rākhā which is preferred to express the prolongation or continuity of the verbal action, on the one hand, and which also has a wider range of combinations, on the other. Often it combines with karā, e.g.:

sarbadāi...tāhādigke asthir kariyā rākhiyāche - he always kept agitating them, RG 61

meyerā ye tāhāder hāsir śabde ghar madhur kariyā rākhiyāche - with their laugh, girls kept making (the atmosphere of) the room sweet, RG 86

yāoyā$_2$ - basic meaning: to go

As stated already, yāoyā is comparatively frequently found also in compounds, in which not a concluded, but a continuous action is expressed.

In classical poetry, the majority of instances combine yāoyā, in this continuous aspect, with verbs of movement, such as uri yāy, he flies on, chuṭi gela - it was running,etc. One case, however, is exceptional:

dine dine bārhi gela Daibakīr rūp - the body (lit.the form) of Daibakī was growing day after day, CS I.4.16

In exactly the same meaning, yāoyā is used in the majority of instances found in modern texts, too. It is especially the constinuous, uninterrupted action which uses this compound maker, e.g.:

Mati binā bākyabyaye tāhār samasta hukum pālan kariyā yāitechile - Mati was obeying all her orders without waste of words, MP 48

anargal bakiyā yāiteche - she goes on chattering uninterruptedly, RG 30

pārasīr calan uthiyā yāiteche - the use of Persian continues to disappear, PA 150

There are only a few cases in which yāoyā is nor explicable in this way, e.g.:

bale yāi, śunun - listen, I shall tell (you), PG 13

kintu āmi bale yācchi - but I am telling (you), RG 64

ār ektu basiyā bhābgatik bujhiyā yān - remain sitting and understand her intentions (properly), BB 78

Though the translations of these quotations do not express it in full, yāoyā, in these cases, seems to intensify the actions of the verbs it is combined with.

āsā - basic meaning: to come

As in those cases, in which āsā was used to express an accomplished verbal action, it undoubtedly contains an element of graduality and slowness, in continuous instances, too. As it was not found, in this function, in our classical poetry, we must rely only on modern texts:

santāp tāhār dhīre jurāiyā āse -his sorrow is slowly retreating, MP 27

māthār sāmner dike tāk pariyā āsiteche - baldness is gradually taking hold of the front part of his head, RG 37

āmāder khābār rasad kramaśai phuriye āsche - our provisions are slowly getting exhausted, PG 110

andhakār gārh haiyā āsiteche - the darkness is getting deeper, MP 5

When an action is to be expressed which has been lasting for a long time and has not yet been finished, āsā is used, too:

pisimār ektā svabhāb āmrā ciradin lakshya kariyā āsiyāchi - we have been observing, since ever, one characteristic quality of the aunt, SS 44

oke etatuku belā theke dekhe āschi - I have been seeing him since his childhood, RG 93

se etadin parihās kariyā āsiyāche - he has been ridiculing it for such a long time, RG 94

Even this statement cannot be, however, taken as a rule. Against it, we have the following quotation (from the time when Binay is no more a student):

kāleje se barābari ucca nambar o brtti pāiyā āsiyāche - at the College, he was always becoming high marks and stipends, RG 16

Anyway, the element of a prolongued and uninterrupted process is present in all our quotations.

16. calā - to go, to move - 31 instances

We did not find any instances of the use of calā, as a compound maker, in classical poetry, except two cases in which it retains its original meaning - uriyā calila kāk (the crow flew away, KR 106.2.23) and bāhuriā cala (go out, CS II.13.16).

From modern texts, however, at least twenty instances could be quoted, with calā expressing the continuity of the verbal action, e.g.:

Śaśīke sakale bhay o khātir kariyā cale - all people are afraid and respect Śaśī, MP 12

belā bāriyā calila - time went on (lit. continued growing), RG 11

uttejitabhābe bale calla - he continued (saying) excitedly, PG 67

In this function, calā seems not to differ in any way from yāoyā.

17. berāna' - basic meaning: to wander about - 55 instances

This compound maker is not at all rare, in classical texts; but like many others, it prefers, in the majority of cases, to form compounds in which its original meaning finds a very natural application, e.g.:

cāri dike śishyagan kāḍiyā berāy - on all four sides, pupils wander around weeping, BA 119.23

pākha nāhi tabu dhēki uriyā berāy - it has no wings, and yet the dhēki flies around, BA 57.5

The same is true of modern texts. Here, however, some cases are to be found, in which this original meaning is turned into that of "repeated continuity of action", as stated by A.Pal[48], e.g.:

maner duhkha dheke berāi - I (always) conceal the sorrow of my heart, PA 168

tumi yāke dharma bale berās - what you keep to call dharma, RG 26

sab samay bārir lokgulike śāsan kariyā berāy - she always rules the people of the house, MP 17

nijer sarbanāś kare parer upakār kare berāno - to keep helping other people, while destroying oneself, MP 62

18. pherā - original meaning: to turn - 9 instances

Though very rare in occurence and usually not mentioned among verbs able to form compounds, pherā should, to my opinion, be included among compound makers. Our excerpts from

both classical and modern texts show its compound function, very near - if not identical - to that of berāno, e.g.:

sarpa māri phire dvija aranya bhitar - the twice-born wanderers around woods killing serpents, BM IV.5.24

paścāt tāriyā phiren Śiba - Śiva keeps chasing (them), BA 46.5-6

tāhārā...tekhano khūjiyā phiriteche - they still continue looking (for us), SS 23

ghumer ghore pragārh asāntir bhāb sarbāṅge bicaran kariyā phirite lāgila - a deep unrest started to wander, again and again, through my whole body, in my slumber, SS 51-2

Under the term verbal compounds we usually understand combinations of two verbal elements. In our texts, however, 25 combinations of three verbal elements were found, which fully comply with the criteria as stated for this category. In the majority of them, the verbs yāoyā and deoyā are used, in the final position. Let us present a few instances:

phulgāch putiyā diyā giyāchila - he had planted the tree, BB 61

gochānor badale baram nomrāmi kare diye yāy - instead of tidying, she rather makes everything dirty, MP 45

apamāner āgun tini tār strīr buker madhya jvāliyā diyā giyāchilen - he had incited the fire of insult in the heart of his wife, SS 79

anek kshudra ghatanāo...beś bara haiyā basiyā giyāche - many trifling events have become quite big, SS 95

bau amake thele phele diyeche - the daughter-in-law pushed me, MP 19, also PA 154 and RG 63

Indra nijer gāyer āloyānta tārātāri chũriyā pheliyā dila - Indra quickly threw (him) his own wrapper, SS 85, also SS 92, PG 31 and PG 41

rātre tẽtul mākhāiyā rākhiyā diyā - having left it smeared with tamarind for a night, MP 60

doyāter kāli pikdānite dhāliyā pheliyā dila - she poured out the ink from the inkpot into the spitoon, BB 40

In the former group, with yāoyā as the last component of the compounds, the completion of the verbal action in question is expressed, diyā adding the element of the direction of this action, and basiyā perhaps that of finality. In the second group, pheliyā deoyā indicates the suddenness of the verbal action directed towards somebody else.

Only in one case, two compound makers indicating the continuity of the verbal action were combined:

yetāke ẽkre dhare thākte pāri - what I can (always) firmly hold, RG 34

Evidently a stressed prolongation as well as firmness of the respective verbal action is achieved by this combination.

Two combinations of three verbal elements, with āsā at the end, seem to indicate the completion of the action of the main verb, but theoretically, āsā can be understood as a separate element here, as well:

cal toke phire rekhe āsi - come, I shall leave you back (or: I shall leave you back and come), SS 19

gharer āgertā tene diye āsba? - shall I shut the mat-door (and come back)? SS 56

Even if we exclude the latter two cases, a sufficient number of three-parts-compounds remain to prove that verbal compounds are not restricted to combinations of two elements only. K.D.Bose, in his book "The Essentials of Bengali Grammar and Composition", is of the same opinion, calling such three-members-compounds samyukta yaugik kriyā /composed compound verbs/[49].

Before summing up the results obtained by our analysis of the individual compound makers, let us recall what has been said already - that not all verbs can form compounds with all compound makers. Though our materials are certainly not sufficient to give a complete picture of these possibilities, it may be of some use to show which actual combinations are most common in our texts. We shall give a survey of at least the most frequented compounds with numbers of instances recorded in both classical and modern texts:

	īasā	ultāṇo	othā	karā	kāḍā	kāṭā	kāṭāṇo	khāoyā	kholā	gaṛā	ghanāṇa	ghumāṇa
othā				21	8					2	1	1
paṛā	25	1	12		1			1				8
basā	3			11								
phelā		1		22	6			5	3			
tolā				19						2		
deoyā		4		98		5	4		13	2		
neoyā				23		2		1	4			1
yāoyā	3	2	9	35		14	1	1	3	1		
āsā			7	4							1	
ḍaṛāno	3		4									
thākā	1		1	45				2			1	
ächa-				14								
raoyā				11								1
rākhā				19								
dharā				2					1			
calā				7		2	2					
beṛāna				12	1			1				
pherā				2								
	35	8	33	345	16	23	7	11	24	7	3	11

	ghorā	īcoyā	cāpā	charāṇo	chārā	chārāṇo	chōṛā	jaṛāṇo	jāgā	jānā	jholā	tāṇā
othā	1					2			5			
paṛā	2			3			2	2			2	
basā		1										
phelā			1	1	1		4					1
tolā												1
deoyā				2	33	3						3
neoyā		5				3	2			1		27
yāoyā	5		2	3	12	1	4	1		3		
āsā	2		1							2		
dārāno												
thākā	1	8						1				
āch-		5						2	2		1	
raoyā		19							2		1	
rākhā				1						2		
dharā			6					4				
celā												
beṛāna	12											
pherā	3											
	26	38	10	10	46	9	12	10	9	8	4	32

	thelā	dākā	dhākā	tākāno	tolā	dārāno	deoyā	dekhā	dharā	nāmā	nāmāno	parā
othā		2					8					
parā						1				2		
basā									1			
phelā	3				6		4	2	8			
tolā												
deoyā	4	1	1		16		3		6		6	
neoyā		7	1		23		1	3	7		2	
yāoyā		1	4			1	22	14	3	19		34
āsā							4	6	1	12		2
dārāno										2		
thākā				1	2	8	1	3	1			12
āch-				1		18	1		1			22
raoyā				2		9	1		3			2
rākhā	2		1		2		1		2		4	
dharā					8							
calā							2					
berāna			1									
pherā												
	9	11	8	4	57	37	48	28	33	35	12	72

	pīcoyā	pākā	pichāno	pūrā	pōtā	phērā	pharāno	phelā	belā	basā	bīcā	bīcāno
othā		3		1				1	19		5	
parā			1	1						10		
basā	2								7			
phelā					1				4			
tolā												
decyā				1	5		9	35	22			2
necyā				1		1	4					
yācyā	6	1	2	1	1	26		4	12	9	3	2
āsā	1	1	1			46			2			
dārāno						1						
thākā		1							4	26	13	
āch-	1						1			34	7	
racyā	1									22		
rākhā				1		2		6	3			1
dharā									1			
calā						1			3			1
berāna						1			6			
pherā												
	11	6	4	6	7	78	14	46	83	101	28	6

	ṑbādhā	bārā	bārano	bādhāno	berāno	bojhā	bhāṅgā	bhāsā	bhejā	māṅā	mārā	melāno
othā	1	11				1		3	1			
parā					8		6					
basā							1				2	
phelā	3			1			2				5	
tolā			1	1								
deoyā	2		3	2			5			1	2	1
neoyā	1					1				6		
yāoyā	2	8			15	1	10	11	3		1	9
āsā					8			5	1			2
dẽrāno												
thākā						1		1		2		
āch-			3						1			
raoyā												
rākhā	7											
dharā			1									
calā		1			1			2		3		
berāna								2			1	
pherā											1	
	16	20	8	4	32	4	24	24	6	12	12	12

	mēsā	rākhā	lāgā	lukāno	lekhā	śukāno	śonā	sarā	sājā	sāmlāno	haoyā	hāsā
othā						1				2	133	10
paṛā								4			38	
basā									1		4	
phelā												1
tolā												
ḍaoyā		13			6				1			
naoyā				1	1		2			6		2
yāoyā	4	10	5		1	11	4	4	3	1	228	
āsā		5				1	1	5			26	
dẽṛāno								1			4	
thākā	2			5	1		4		1		40	1
ach-	1	1	2	3							17	
raoyā			3	4							14	
rākhā				11	1							
dharā												
calā										1		
beṛāna												
pherā												
	7	29	10	24	10	13	11	14	6	10	504	14

As shown by this chart, the following verbs appear most frequently in compounds (with the numbers of instances found in our texts, in brackets):

haoyā - to become (504)
karā - to do (345)
calā - to go (98)
basā - to sit (101)
balā - to say (83)
pherā - to turn (78)
paṛā - to fall (72)
tolā - to lift (57)
deoyā - to give (48)
phelā - to throw (46)
chāṛā - to let go (46)
cāoyā - to look (38)
marā - to die (37)
dāṛāno- to stand (37)
āsā - to come (35)
nāmā - to descend (35)
oṭhā - to rise (33)
dharā - to keep (33) etc.

It is certainly no coincidence that apart from haoyā and karā, which figure as mere auxiliaries, in the overwhelming majority of our instances, the most frequented verbs of meaning to be found as first components of compounds are those which appear as second components, i.e. as compound makers, as well. It is most probably their ambiguity - the retension of

their original meaning, on the one hand, and its transformation into the mere role of a compound maker, on the other - which arouses the feeling of necessity to "reinforce" their basic meaning either by another semantically related verb or a compound maker, whenever their original meaning is to be expressed.

To survey, once again, various compound makers, let us quote their various combinations with karā and balā; using haoyā instead, in those two cases in which neither karā nor balā was found:

cītkār kariyā uthila - they cried out, SS 53

se kshunna haiyā pariyāchila - she got annoyed, RG 73

tāke kshamā kariyā phelila - he forgave her /everything at once/, MP 71

purushmānusher hrdayke dīpta kare tolen - they give light to men's hearts, RG 19

eojāeujii jijñes kare basla he asked straight, PG 64

tāhār khāoyā nishedh kariyā dila - he forbade him to eat, RG 29

nijeke mukta kariyā laite - to disentangle oneself, SS 64

byasta haiyā baliyā uthilen - he said quickly, RG 46

sakal kathā bale pheli - let me tell him everything /at once/, RG 45

ekebāre baliyā basilen - she said straight, RG 69

eo ki tomāy bale dite habe? is it necessary to tell you this, too? MP 33

Matir sańge bhāb kariyā gela - she made friends with Mati, MP 40-1

hathāt khub suci haye dāṛiyechen - he all at once became very pure, RG 25

mane kariyā thāke - he keeps remembering, RG 79

speksha kariyā āche - he is waiting, SS 36

cup kariyā rahila - he remained silent, RG 35

kichu gopan kare yācchen - he is hiding something PG 12

etadin parihās kariyā āsiyāche he has been ridiculing it so long, RG 94

bicār kariyā calila - he was (always) judging, RG 41

sarbadāi..tāhādigke asthir kariyā rākhiyāche - he always kept them restless, RG 61

dāktārbābu ye bale gelen - the doctor said, RG 10

bikele giye bale ela - in the afternoon, he went and said, MP 18

daktārrā eman bale thāke - doctors use to speak so, RG 10

ami bale yācchi - I am saying, RG 64

Ghanādā bale cellen - Ghanada continued talking, PG 5

se āmi sabāike bale rākhchi - I am saying it to everybody, RG 26

ālotā ūcu kariyā dhariyāche she kept holding the light above, MP 19

bale dhari toke - I keep telling you, CS III.11.16

cākari umedāri kare berācchi - we use to work, RG 33

cāri dike baliyā beray - he repeated saying everywhere, RG 90

aneke toto kariyā phiriteche many of them are strolling around, PA 204

It would be useless to repeat what has been said of compound verbs, at the beginning of the present chapter and during their analysis. Let us stress only three points:

1) Compound verbs are no modern phenomenon in Bengali. S.K. Chatterji traced them to the oldest periods of the development of the Bengali language and pointed to the Dravidian languages as their possible source[50]. We can hardly overlook the fact, however, that in the classical language, they are far from being as numerous as they are in modern Bengali. The average number recorded in our classical texts is 80, against 501 found in modern texts. In this respect, compound verbs do not differ from other categories of non-finite verbal forms.

2) The majority of the Bengali compound makers are polyfunctional. From this point of view, they bear all features of a phenomenon in development. Various changes they undergo in the course of time, their dependence of the current usage etc., everything points to their unsteadiness.

3) On the one hand, the same compound maker may convey va-

rious meanings; on the other, the same verb may be used with various compound makers in exactly the same meaning. As for the latter, it is a matter of stylistic variants only - either of those belonging to the individual style of the author or of a certain group style (of a certain period, area, social group, etc.). In this respect, much investigation still remains to be carried out before anything more authoritative and definite may be said of Bengali compound verbs.

Conclusions

On the next two pages, we are presenting the final survey of the frequency of all non-finite verbal forms, as found in our ten texts. The chart is divided into groups and subgroups, according to the individual non-finite forms and their ways of use, as analysed in the main part of the present monograph.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this chart:

1) The confrontation of classical poetry with modern fiction proves, in a convincing way, the general increase of all non-finite verbal forms in Bengali. This tendency continues even during the modern period; none of our 20th century texts contains a smaller amount of non-finites than the 19th century prose with the highest number recorded.
2) Among the individual non-finite forms, the increase is most apparent in the category of verbal nouns and adjectives (from 1,1% of all recorded verbal forms, in classical poetry, to 6,9%, in modern texts), and conditional participles (from 1% to 3,2%), less pronounced in imperfective participles (from 3,4% to 8,3%) and rather slight in perfective participles (from 24% to 28,6%).
3) The individual non-finite verbal forms have not only increased in number, in the modern period, but also considerably enlarged the scale of possibilities of their use. If classified according to these possibilities, a more exact picture of the sectors affected by this increase is obtained:

	CS	BM	KR	BA	PA	DD	MG	SS	MP	PG
1.1.verbal nouns										
1.1.1.future verbal nouns	(15)	(33)	(18)	(26)						
1.1.1.1.	10	9	7	11	36	32	83	68	79	119
1.1.1.2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	7	4
1.1.1.3	-	-	-	-	16	4	3	4	3	-
1.1.1.4	-	-	-	-	18	22	31	19	16	63
1.1.2. present verbal nouns										
1.1.2.1.	-	-	-	-	4	12	3	12	50	32
1.1.2.3.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1.1.2.4.	-	-	-	-	4	1	4	10	27	24
1.1.2.5.	4	7	6	16	186	50	126	80	79	133
1.1.2.6.	1	-	13	9	41	81	46	58	42	98
1.1.2.7.	-	-	-	-	41	4	6	8	7	8
1.1.3.verbal adjectives										
1.1.3.1.	2	9	5	16	8	17	29	17	113	58
1.1.3.2.	-	-	-	-	6	8	15	18	14	28
1.2.conditional participles										
1.2.1.	64	17	76	39	247	90	114	78	152	94
1.2.2.	6	1	4	-	12	22	10	21	22	4
1.2.3.	-	-	-	-	8	39	25	18	9	40
1.3.imperfective participles										
1.3.1.1.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	3
1.3.1.2.	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	14	1	9
1.3.1.3.	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	8	4	10
1.3.2.1.	23	15	11	6	-	6	4	2	5	3
1.3.2.2.	2	10	10	16	74	52	62	66	46	44

	CS	BM	KR	BA	PA	BB	RG	SS	MP	PG
1.3.2.3.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	-
1.3.3.	76	58	63	103	317	270	346	316	204	226
1.3.4.	52	50	87	68	85	69	77	51	101	64
1.3.5.	1	3	-	1	2	4	3	-	2	4
1.4. perfective participles										
1.4.1.	864	1385	846	1192	855	813	906	1183	779	1128
1.4.2.	18	24	7	25	15	40	30	48	40	32
verbal compounds	99	95	51	77	332	257	523	707	591	599
	1239	1716	1204	1605	2319	1831	2468	2814	2400	2829

a) The only sub-group, in which the loss of a possibility was recorded, is the future verbal noun: its combinations with various mode makers, common in classical poetry, disappeared from the language, in the modern period, being replaced by combinations of imperfective participles + mode makers.

b) In another sub-group, instances recorded in classical texts are more numerous than those found in modern prose - that of the use of a non-geminated imperfective participle to express an action simultaneous to that of the following clause (1.3.2.1.); in modern Bengali, a geminated imperfective participle is much preferred (1.3.2.2.), in such a situation.

c) In three sub-groups, the frequency is more or less equal both in the classical language and the modern one - in

1.3.4. (imperfective participle corresponding to the English infinitive), 1.3.5. (dekhite, balite), and 1.4.1. (syntactic use of the perfective participle).

d) As modern innovations, for which no exact counterpart was found in our classical texts, altogether 13 sub-groups are to be considered, mostly in the category of verbal nouns (7) and imperfective participles (3). It would be of no use to enumerate all of them, as they are easily recognizable in the preceding chart.

e) In the remaining 10 sub-groups, an apparent increase in the frequency of the respective non-finite verbal forms was recorded, in modern texts.

f) All compound makers show a distinctive tendency towards increase, too. Excepting tolā and dẽrāno, all of them were found both in classical poetry and in modern prose, but in much higher numbers in the latter. A confrontation of our 19th century texts with the prose of the present century reveals that this tendency towards more and more frequent use of verbal compounds has continued even during the modern period.

The fact that all non-finite verbal forms have not only increased in frequency, in modern Bengali, but also considerably enlarged the scale of their expressive possibilities, is undoubtedly connected with the present-day polyfunctionality of these forms. We have seen, during our analysis, how

many different purposes one and the same non-finite verbal form may be used for. A natural consequence of this phenomenon is that basically the same syntactic relation can be expressed in different ways. Let us illustrate it by one type, at least, that of a simple temporal (not causal) succession of two verbal actions. In such a case, the following non-finite forms may be used, in the first of the two actions, as proved by our excerpts:

1) perfective participle: cākar āsiyā khabar dila - the servant came and announced, RG 50

2) conditional participle: naukāy āsiyā basile Indra bāhite lāgila - after we came to the boat and sat down, Indra started to row, SS 68

3) imperfective participle:

a) simple: gāri thāmte āmār ekjan tābedār karmacārī āmāy selām dite ela - when the train stopped, one of my subordinate officers came to greet me, PG 26

b) geminated: sandhyedīp jvālte nā jvālte dekhte eseche - as soon as the evening lamp was lit, he came to see /you/, MP 18

4) verbal noun:

a) future i) paricay diye ālāp karbār par āmār kāche...sab kathā ballen - after I had introduced myself, he told me everything, PG 31-2

ii) mukta haibāmātra bege bāhire paläyan karila - as soon as she was free, she flew out, BB 73

b) present:

i) ek gā theke dhāker śabda śonāmātra anya gā tatkshanāt se-khabar dhāker āoyāje pracār karā dey - as soon as drums from a village have been heard, the other villages spread the information by means of their drums, PG 83

ii) sab kāhinī śonār par jijñāsā karlām - after I have heard the whole story, I asked, PG 50

iii) ātmīyadiger nām smaran karāte mane haila - after having remembered the names of his relatives, it occured to him, PA 150

Similarly we could enumerate various ways how to express the simultaneity of two verbal actions, or repeat those variants which were found among compound makers with an identical function. In some cases, these variations are governed by grammatical rules; thus, for instance, our type 1.3.1.1. /the use of a non-geminated imperfective participle, to express a verbal action preceding that of the main part of the sentence/, is permissible only if both verbs have not a common subject. In the majority of cases, however, such variants belong to the sphere of stylistics.

It is not the aim of the present study to describe, in more details, which of our ten authors prefers this or that type among the existing stylistic variants, as revealed by

the preceding analysis. But the mere frequency of the individual non-finite verbal forms and their various functions points to certain preferences, for instance in the use of various compound makers. Just to give some examples, let us remember the relatively very frequent use of tolā, by Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur, or the preference of rahā to thākā, by Pyārīcād Mitra. There is hardly any doubt that a deper analysis of the language of various Bengali writers and poets, from this point of view, could bring interesting results and considerably enrich the field of the study of Bengali stylistics.

Notes:

1) I am fully aware of the inaccuracy of these grammatical terms; but they are undoubtedly comprehensible and will therefore, I hope, serve the purpose of the present study.

2) Śrīkṛshṇakīrttan, Caṇḍīdās-biracita. Ed. by Basantarañjan Rāy. Baṅgīya-sāhitya-pārashat, Calcutta, 5th edition, 1954, pp.1-74

3) Vipradāsa's Manasā-vijaya. Ed. by Sukumar Sen. Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1953, pp.5-96

4) Rāmāyaṇ, Kṛttibās biracita. Ed. by Harekrshṇa Mukhopādhyāy. Sāhitya saṃsad, Calcutta, 1957, pp.85-142

5) In: Bhāratcandra-granthābalī. Ed. by Brajendranāth Bandyopādhyāy and Sajanīkānta Dās. Baṅgīya-sāhitya-parishat, Calcutta, 3rd edition, 1951, pp.20-178

6) In: Satsāhitya-granthābalī, 1st Vol. Basumatī-sāhitya-mandir, Calcutta, s.d., pp.141-208

7) Baṅkimcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy, Bishabṛksha. Ed.by Jāhnabīkumār Cakrabartī. Sāhitya prakāś, Calcutta, 1968, pp.1-81

8) Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur, Gorā. Biśvabhāratī granthālay, Calcutta, punarmudraṇ, śraban 1951, pp.7-97

9) Śaratcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy, Śrīkānta, 1st Vol. Gurudās Caṭṭopādhyāy, Calcutta, 13th edition, s.d., pp.1-95

10) Mānik Bandyopādhyāy, Putulnācer itikathā. Bengal Publishers, 7th edition, Calcutta, 1959, pp.1-77

11) Premendra Mitra, Ghanādār galpa. Indian Associated Publishers, Calcutta, 1956, pp.1-115

12) These terms have been taken over from Suniti Kumar Chatterji's The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (in further quotations ODBL), Part II, p.930. Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1926.

13) I have included, among present verbal nouns, also words of the type of lekhāparā (study, studying), i.e. verbal nouns the verbal character of which has been rather suppressed by their constant use as simple nouns. As it is, however, quite impossible to draw the exact border-line between these nouns and the other verbal nouns, it seems better not to exclude even these controversial cases from our non-finite verbal forms.

14) Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol.VIII, No.4, 1966, pp. 219-238

15) The poem Hārive-yāovā, from Pelātakā

16) Cf. ODBL, Part II, 1000

17) Cf. ODBL, Part II, p.901

18) Op. cit., p.221

19) Sarel bhāshā-prakāś Bāṅgālā byākaraṇ, nabīn sanskaraṇ, Bāk-sāhitya, Calcutta, 1966

20) Op.cit., pp.223-228

21) I am using the following abbreviations for the quotations of the analysed texts: Caṇḍīdās, Śrīkṛshṇakīrtan = CS (the respective khaṇḍa being referred to by the first number in Roman numerals, and the following two figures giving the number of the song and the verse); Bipradās, Manasābijay = BM (with the same way of quoting), Kṛttibās, Rāmāyaṇ = KR (the first figure indicating the page, the

second, in Roman numerals, the first or the second column, and the third the respective verse), Bhāratcandra Rāy, Annadāmaṅgal = BA (with figures referring to the respective page and verse), Pyāricād Mitra, Ālāler gharer Dulāl = PA, Baṅkimcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy, Bishabṛksha = BB, Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur, Gorā = RG, Śaratcandra Caṭṭopādhyāy, Śrīkānta = SS, Mānik Bandyopādhyāy, Putulnācer itikathā = MP, Premendra Mitra, Ghanādār galpa = PG (in the six last quoted books giving only the number of the respective page).

22) In such cases, the verbal element of these nouns seems to be suppressed, cf. Note 13.

23) Cf. ODBL, Part II, p.1003

24) S.K. Chatterji (ODBL, Part II, pp.1000-1002) proved this imperfective participle to be originally a locative absolute of the present participle in -ite.

25) In this column, each geminated pair is counted as one unit; in other charts, as two words.

26) Cf. ODBL, Part II, p.1003

27) Op. cit., p.211

28) Cf. ODBL, Part II, p.913

29) S.K. Chatterji, in ODBL, Part II, p.1048

30) Cf. ODBL, Part II, p.922

31) According to ODBL, Part II, p.925

32) With three exceptions only, the combination dnarā par appears here in all cases.

33) In the remaining five cases recorded in PA, this type occurs in an inversion as nā -ite -ite/i/.

34) In this particular case, an interesting circumstance is worth noting. In all combinations with the imperfective participle, the simple chārā is used, meaning "to cease"; with the present noun, we found in all cases the compound verb chāriyā deoyā, meaning "to give up". Is it possible that this difference would account for the different verbal form, which the two variants are combined with?

35) It is baliyā, bale, which can be well used to demonstrate to what a degree some perfective participles have lost their original meaning. Apart from its "basic" meaning (having said, saying), it appears quite frequently in combinations such as:

yedi dekhis ghire phelle bale - if you see that they have surrounded (us), SS 20, or:

tomāder ye meyetike kultyāginī baliyā jāniyā rākhiyācha - your daughter whom you have been considering as a kultyāginī, SS 83

In the former instance, bale means simply "that"; in the latter, which is quite frequent, the meaning "as, like, to be called" is implied. In such cases, baliyā does not differ from balite, mentioned under 3.3.5.

36) Here again, each geminated pair is counted as one unit.

37) Op.cit., p.221

38) See, for instance, ODBL, Part II, pp.1049-1052, or Duncan Forbes, A Grammar of the Bengālī Language, London, 1875, pp.121-124

39) Op.cit., pp.142-144

40) Op.cit., pp.121-123

41) Op.cit., p.233

42) Saral bhāshā-prakāś Bāngālā byākaraṇ, ed.cit., p.143

43) Dtto, p.143

44) Op.cit., p.234

45) Op.cit., p.225

46) Op.cit., p.234

47) Op.cit., p.234-235

48) Op.cit., p.234

49) K.D. Bose, The Essentials of Bengali Grammar and Composition in Questions and Answers. Mitra a. Ghosh, Calcutta. 3rd edition, s.d., pp.293-295

50) ODBL, p.1050